

CHAPTER II

years.<sup>10</sup> In the ninth, a blind man prays to the saint: "Let me see your image [εἰκόνα],<sup>11</sup> will behold the tomb [θάλαττα],<sup>12</sup> look upon the monastery [μοναστήριον],<sup>13</sup> delight in the same [μοναστήριον]."<sup>14</sup> *Temenos* must refer to the area directly around the tomb, whereas *semenion* seems to be a general term for the holy place or the monastery as a whole. From the use of these terms in other miracles, it seems they all refer to the burial place of Holy Luke. When compared with the description in the *Vita* proper of the burial place, however, it appears that the circular enclosure given the *thikē* by Kosmas the monk corresponds to the *temenos* of the miracle accounts. Although there is no longer any trace of this enclosed area around the tomb as it presently appears, it can be imagined from the descriptions in the *Vita*.

The terms used in describing the healing cult at the tomb are associated with the crypt and its function from the time of the building of the Katholikon in the third-quarter of the tenth century. Accounts of the operation of the miracle cult at the tomb bring a new dimension to our understanding of the function of the crypt, a liturgical use of this space only recorded by the Vita of the saint. The nature of the healing process and other types of factual information contained in this record bear closer attention.

The Posthumous Miracles all refer to, rely on, or take place near the tomb of Holy Luke. They are very like the posthumous miracles encountered in so many saints' Lives, including even a statement by the author that because many more miracles took place than he could possibly describe, he presents only a selection.<sup>19</sup> This collection of fifteen miracles is significant for it reveals the typical preoccupations, patterns, and people associated with the cult, information that has been classified and tabulated in order to show recurring elements and themes contained in the miracle accounts (see the chart). They describe the tomb, the people who were cured, their ailments, their concerns, the kinds of miracles they experienced, how long it took for the cure to take place. On the whole we get a remarkably vivid glimpse of the healing cult and its milieu.

Patterns of the cult emerge. Typically, each miracle account introduces the sufferer and describes his ailment; these ailments are either physical maladies or cases of demonic possession. The sufferers approach the tomb as supplicants, usually with little success at first, but then, after a delay, they are cured. The tomb itself is described with several terms already discussed (see chart, col. 4). Another group of terms, also discussed, is used for the agents of healing: *myron*, a substance exuded from the tomb, is collected and contained in the lamp that hangs over the tomb; *elation* is used in the same way as *myron* and both refer to a healing oil.<sup>12</sup> Another substance, *nysa*, is also emitted from the tomb

<sup>14</sup> Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chap. 81: Παρόδους παντού την ἐξ ὑπέρβολων ἐπικουρίαν ἔτι θεοῦ καὶ τὸν περιβόλου παταρέψας καὶ το ἱερὸν ἔκεινον καθαδύνων τέμενος τῇ θείᾳ προσπάττει αὐρῷ καὶ θερμοῖς τὴν λοιπὴν δέσμων.

<sup>11</sup> Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chap. 77; ... 160  
την εἰκόνα προσβλέψω την θήρην τὸ σεμνεῖον  
ποιῶν τοι τέμνους καταστροφήν. For the importance  
of icons in the church, see Brown, "Iconoclastic  
Controversy," esp. pp. 160–61, and Galavaris, "Por-

traits of St. Athanasius," pp. 97.

<sup>10</sup> The introduction to the Posthumous Miracles in the Life of Saint Luke states: "Now it is time to recount the miracles which took place after the death of the wise man, not all of them or in detail, or in chronological order—for how could one, when there are so many?" (chap. 68); cf. Patlaean, *Anteicne Hagiographic*, p. 123.

<sup>107</sup> See Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chaps. 69, 75.

The third miracle is an example of the cure of a physical malady through anointment. A woman suffers from sores on her face, 'an undiminished source of embarrassment for her'; the account continues:

She tried countless medical treatments but found no relief at all and recognized that she had lost the opportunity for swift healing. Finally, going into the tomb [at or near the *taphos*] of the holy one she took some oil [eaten] from the lamp that was there and some moisture [*nativus*] from the esteemed tomb [tomb], and anointed the suffering spot. Shedding many tears on the sacred tomb [taphos], not for many days did she ask for healing but the eighth day totally freed her from her suffering, and the skin on her face was pure, without even a small trace of her former malady to be seen.<sup>139</sup>

A second type of ailment encountered in the Posthumous Miracles is possession by a demon. In most cases the cure comes about through incubation, that is, the sufferer sleeps near the tomb at night; the saint appears to him in a dream and exorcises the demon. For example, in the sixth miracle a man was "held down by a demon" and was "for many years broken down by its harsh tortures, pulled apart and thrown about by dread fears"; his cure takes place over a number of nights.

But at length he came to the tomb [άρκε] of the saint and, remaining in it a few days he too experienced that grace, . . . even though it was delayed . . . for he still went frequently and prostrated himself at the tomb [άρκε] in entreaty, he would remain three or even more days and then would decide to return home. Once when he had come and was joined by the fathers in entreating the saint, he had a dream [ὄνειρο] when he was asleep in which he was called by name and ordered to open his mouth. And when he swiftly did what he was ordered, that one breathing into him said, "Depart now in health, announcing to all the wondrous works of God." And he awoke from his sleep and recognizing that the dream presented a clear truth, he described it to all.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Notis, notidi* in the dative, is defined in Lampé as dew or moisture, since in miracle number 5 (Martini, "Supplement," p. 110, Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chapter 23) Nicodorus falls into the *désaventure* containing

chap. 73) Nicolaos falls into the *dexamenē* containing it, the interpretation as water seems justified.

— *Common Life of Saint Luke*, Chap. 27, Martin, "Supplements," p. 180. Από μητρόν λαζαρίου τον στρατιών βοηθόντα που την απέλιπε, την πέρασε είτη και χρόνιαν άποκλωνός ήτανος θηράστης, πρωτεύοντας όντες για τον δεινό φόβον τύπων και τυπών από τον Βασιλεύα της βασιλευόντων, τοπτό δε και τον Βασιλεύα της νόμου κακωτούντων, και το ποτόντων υπόντων μάχης θέλειν τη πολλὰ τον λεγόντανον απόλυτον πόλεμον επίκρισην πρό την ίματον. Οὐδὲ πέμπτη ή δέκατη.

## CHAPTER XI

## ARCHITECTURE AND LITERACY

The two usual methods of healing at the tomb of Holy Luke are through anointing and exorcism. In some miracles the methods are combined, in others the miracle takes place at a distance. In two cases the oil from the lamp over the tomb is brought to the sufferer.<sup>101</sup> In the tenth miracle John, from the island of Tervania who suffers from worms, makes such a journey in his bedridden state was plainly difficult. What did he do? He arrived at the place in his imagination, hastening on with the wings of faith. He tasted that very tomb [soros] with his lips; even though he was far away in body he called upon the one who does not through his grace fail to be present, saying: "grant that I should come to see your tomb [soros] with my feet healed." The same suddenly lightened his pains, releasing the fetters from his feet . . . he stride freely and also jumped.<sup>102</sup> A little later he visited the monastery, flourishing in his feet as in his faith. Entering the divine church [prosphora] he prostrated himself at the miraculous tomb [ēmētēphoros taphos], saying, "I thank you, o man of God, since you have delivered my eyes from tears and my feet from stumbling."<sup>103</sup>

The tomb thus plays a crucial role in all types of miraculous cures, whether through physical contact or imagined contact.

Proximity to the tomb is a prerequisite for healing, except in the three long-distance cures (see chart, col. 1). The suppliant "sits next to" the tomb in a number of the miracles; in the second miracle, the donkey bearing the lame children is led "right up to the tomb"; where the mother, "sitting and waiting beside it," asked the saint for aid.<sup>104</sup> In the fifth miracle, Niccolaus is sitting next to the receptacle for the moisture (notidi) emitted by the tomb when he accidentally falls into it.<sup>105</sup>

In incubation, the necessity of being near the tomb as well as being the only one to sleep there is also clear, as in the case of Christopher:

When evening came he asked permission to sleep by the tomb [ipara tē sorō]. Although the fathers had permitted him to worship there, they said, "No other person except the one who is ill remains there."<sup>106</sup>

In the same miracle one who is possessed by a demon was discouraged because he was

<sup>101</sup> Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chap. 70; Marin, "Ecclesiastical Hippocratics," 2. <sup>102</sup> Anth. vīr. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 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### \*\*\*\*\* III \*\*\*\*\*

#### CONTEXT AND PATRONAGE

HOSIOS LOUKAS is an extraordinarily lavish monastic foundation by any standard. Compared with surviving urban or provincial monastic complexes it represents a very large investment, particularly in the churches and in their sculptural and wall decoration. The complexity and quality of the mosaics of the Katholikon as well as the fresco decoration of the crypt indicate that the most sophisticated and highly trained craftsmen were responsible. And these craftsmen and their precious materials must have been brought to this remote area at considerable expense. How can we account for this?

Hosios Loukas, as we have seen, was the center of a miracle cult that operated locally but was surely known throughout the empire. The cult focused on Holy Luke's relics in the crypt, whose liturgical function included rituals of burial and commemoration. Through the Vita of the saint we get a vivid sense of this remote monastery's social and historical context. Not only does it provide our best account of the foundation and early operation of the monastery with its miracle cult but it provides further insights that might explain the splendor and lavishness of the foundation. Additional historical and textual material supplements and expands our acquaintance with this time and clarifies our picture of the probable circumstances of the founding and flourishing of the monastery. The fresco portraits of abbots in the southeast vault of the crypt make possible the connection between these circumstances and the individuals responsible for the costly undertaking. Seen within its wider contemporary context, the crypt thus leads to a set of explanations for the character and rich patronage of the foundation as a whole.

#### SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS FACTORS

Monks and monasteries played a central role in middle Byzantine society; several aspects of this role are relevant in understanding how Hosios Loukas must have functioned in its provincial setting.<sup>1</sup> As we examine certain of these aspects, the implications of the fresco program become clearer.

<sup>1</sup> For a summary of these roles, see the articles in *Byzantine Society and Monasteries*, ed. N. M. Vapour (Brookline, Mass., 1985), and J. M. Hussey, "The

Monastic World: The Religious Vocation," in *The Byzantine World* (New York, 1966), pp. 114-30.

#### CONTEXT AND PATRONAGE

One important role of monks and monasteries was philanthropic: care and healing of the sick. However, miraculous healing by relics is sometimes difficult to distinguish from medical cures in hospitals run at the monasteries. The miraculous cures at the shrines of "medical saints" such as the *ayiotyron*, Cosmas and Damian, are well documented; in this case the entire church, the Kommidion in Constantinople, served as a gathering place for the sick.<sup>2</sup> Living saints and holy men often had divine powers of healing. Theodore of Sykeon, for example, exorcised demons or healed through anointing those visiting their tombs.<sup>3</sup>

Distinctly separate from the miraculous healers were the physicians who were organized into guilds and whose practices and fees were regulated by the state.<sup>4</sup> Traditionally, monasteries had their own hospitals.<sup>5</sup> The earliest monastic hospitals were in Egypt and Syria. Palestinian hospitals came later, and some of these were described by Egerius, her travels through the Holy Land.<sup>6</sup> A famous early founder of hospitals attached to monasteries in Palestine was the empress Eudocia Justinian, at Sabas's request, founded one in Jerusalem that was under the direction of monks. There was also a hospital associated with Sabas's own monastery and with that of Theodore. These hospitals were used for lodging by pilgrims from an early time, and therefore the term for an inn or hospice (*oxonion*) is often the same for a hospital for the sick (*nookleomene*). Those treated in hospitals were by the church mainly the poor or homeless, for the rich could afford to pay physicians for expensive private treatment. Therefore the founding of hospitals was a charitable act, usually undertaken by the wealthy or the emperor.

In the middle Byzantine period the Macedonian house is known to have renovated hospitals; Romanus Lecapenus founded the Myrrylon monastery, which had a hospital famous for its treatments.<sup>7</sup> Basil II was a founder of hospitals and other philanthropic institutions.<sup>8</sup> The best-known Byzantine hospital of the Comnenian period was that at the Pantrrocera monastery in Constantinople where a variety of ailments were treated by a staff that included many categories of physicians and nurses.<sup>9</sup> The operation, or

<sup>2</sup> See Magoulas, "Lives of Saints," pp. 139-42.

<sup>3</sup> See Hayes and Barnes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, p. 91, for Theodore's healing of the blind. Another type of miracle was another type of healing associated with holy men and shrines. Brown, "Learning and Imaginative," pp. 18-19.

<sup>4</sup> See Charanis, "Some Aspects," p. 67; that, p. 68; Charanis, "The Monk," p. 40; Kaldany and Egerius, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, pp. 139-57.

<sup>5</sup> Philippos, "Foroiarchon," pp. 341-42; on the monastic hospitals in Cappadocia founded by Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, see Miller, *Basis of the Hospital*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>6</sup> Philippos, "Foroiarchon," p. 340; Fotopoulos, *Mimes de Palamite*, 3, no. 2, 41-114, 141. Cyril of Skythopolis also records the care by Abramites of the sick. Schwartz, *Rynias von Skythopolis*, p. 147. Ma-

gular attendants nominate of monks and nuns visiting the sick, *Foroiarchon*, pp. 341-42; 3, no. 105.

<sup>7</sup> See Miller, *Basis of the Hospital*, p. 114.

<sup>8</sup> Constantine, *Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, p. 170 (Bd); p. 10; Philippos, "Foroiarchon," p. 340.

<sup>9</sup> The Monastery of the Virgin Peribleptos in Constantinople was famous for its hospitals; see Goulat, "The Hospital of the Virgin Peribleptos," p. 110.

<sup>10</sup> See Goulat, "Peribleptos Tropikos," pp. 109-10.

<sup>11</sup> Constantine, *Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, p. 212; given the numerous associations in monasticism, asceticism, philanthropy, and piety, there is no clear status, "monk and asceticism or monkhood are interchangeable terms." (p. 10) In this context there is a distinction between monk and ascetic of the monasteries (monks), on the one hand, and abbots, both of the hospital, (monk). (p. 11) For a fascinating study of the monasteries (monks), on the other we also Miller, *Basis of the Hospital*, p. 42; for a fascinating study of the mon-

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least the ideal operation, of this hospital is known in detail from the founder's typikon drawn up by the emperor John Comnenus in 1136, and further evidence of hospitals and healers associated with monasteries appears in other documents, among which are the Vitae of Byzantine saints.<sup>11</sup>

Many monastic hospitals were highly organized, although it is not clear to what extent monks became trained as physicians or therapists to carry out the necessary services in them.<sup>12</sup> The Vita of Hosios Loukas makes it clear that healing is the principal association with the saint after his death; he is a thaumaturgus, or wonderworker, and the most numerous examples of his powers are miracles of healing. In the Vita, accounts of fifteen posthumous healing miracles conclude the text read annually on his feast day.<sup>13</sup> The operation of this healing cult has been discussed in Chapter II and the miracles are listed in a chart presented in Chapter II. Most of the miracles took place near the tomb of the saint, but there is reason to think that healing took place not only through miraculous means. References to the long time periods spent at the monastery by some of the sick—we know that one stayed six months!—and in particular to the role of the monks in caring for the sick suggest there was quasi-medical care provided by the monks of Hosios Loukas.<sup>14</sup>

The monk Pancratius, mentioned several times in the Vita, was the central figure in the first healing cult and was perhaps even a skilled physical therapist *cum* social worker.

The brother Pancratius anointed him with his own hands; for it was his custom always to sympathize with this one and with others who were similarly afflicted, and so be a supporting and charitable right hand for them.<sup>15</sup>

The renovation of the monastery after the saint's death involved the building of "houses for the reception of visitors," and the visitors included not only ordinary pilgrims but also the sick in need of care or therapy who are described in the Posthumous Miracles.<sup>16</sup> Although there is no archaeological evidence for a hospital, a group of these "houses for the reception of visitors" may have served such a purpose.

Healing shrines often existed alongside medical hospitals, both of which were closely associated with monasteries from earliest times. Penalties were imposed in the case of monastic establishments that did not properly perform their care of the sick.<sup>17</sup> In remote areas of the provinces this role was a particularly vital one; for the poor it was the only way of obtaining medical treatment at all. Hosios Loukas with its miracle-working

monastery's hospital, see Codellas, "The Pantocrator, The Imperial Byzantine Medical Center," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 23 (1949), pp. 220–230.

<sup>12</sup> Egeria, "The Guide," p. 53.

<sup>13</sup> Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chap. 68–69.  
<sup>14</sup> The earliest miracle recorded in Constantine's vita, which took its model from Eusebius, *Life of Saint Luke*, chap. 82, in the Vita of Holy Luke is among a group of rare particularly rich in medical terms found in the east. The name of the saint is given as Luke the syriac, Luke the younger or locutions of the area around Thessaloniki, Philosophoupolis Mikon Monasterion, *Relaxation of Editors*, and Silos of Bozcaar, all

written around 1000, are especially rich in medical information" (Kashub and Uspenski, *Change in Byzantine Society*, p. 15); see C. L. Connor, "A Monastic Group: Pantocrator Therapeia at Hosios Loukas," in *Twelfth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts of Papers* (Byz. Mater., 1980), pp. 1–2.

<sup>15</sup> Miracles (n. 3, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 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and visited Luke's tomb at the monasteries.<sup>60</sup> The Gulf of Corinth was clearly one of the sea routes between the Aegean and the Adriatic, and the Monastery of Hosios Loukas must have been a stopping point for travelers as well as a goal of pilgrimage, being located a short walk from a good harbor on the gulf.<sup>61</sup> The "crowds of believers" whom Luke prophesied on his deathbed would come to visit the place where he was buried because the anticipated pilgrims, gathered to venerate his relics, for later in the *Vita*, the author states: "Thus came to fulfillment what the blessed one had said concerning the ones coming there in large numbers [περὶ τὸν ἡσάν αὐτὸν εἰς πλῆθος μερχόμενον]."<sup>62</sup> These pilgrims lodged in the houses built for visitors, both those who were making long journeys to visit many sites and those who lived in nearby villages and towns.<sup>63</sup>

MONASTERIES were also concerned with providing burial and commemoration of the dead. These charitable services were performed by the *spoudaioi* and *philopoi* who served the poor already in sixth-century Jerusalem and seventh-century Constantinople and were organized in urban centers around the empire.<sup>64</sup> In some cases they lived in monastic communities and in others they seem to have been free agents, performing charitable services wherever needed. Societies or guilds were formed from early times, and great monasteries such as the Stoudios and Pantocrator provided free burial and commemoration of the dead.<sup>65</sup>

For the region of Hosios Loukas there was the Confraternity of the Naupactian Women, a philanthropic burial society that existed in the second half of the eleventh century, as we learn from its preserved charter.<sup>66</sup> The confraternity included both men and women and its members circulated among monasteries from Naupactos to Daphni carrying its most valued possession, an icon of the Virgin, and holding its meetings on the first day of each month in a different church in the region. One of its principal functions was funerary:

If one of our brothers leaves this life and passes on to his eternal resting place, assembling for a procession of his remains, let us hold a funeral service with our own beeswax, if such be necessary. Moreover we shall make commemoration of him according to the custom practiced by Christians, on the third, ninth and fortieth day of his burial and on the anniversary of his demise.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., chap. 66.

<sup>61</sup> The easiest access to the monastery was from the harbor of Annikra at the Monachon (now destroyed): "von hier lief der Weg nach dem innern sancti amnonigenen. Tal direkt zu dem Kloster" (Koder and Högl, *Hellas und Thessalia*, p. 97); see also the map in that publication and in Stokas, *Okkidentales Christentum*, opposite p. 226.

<sup>62</sup> Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chap. 67.

<sup>63</sup> For the geographical range of those mentioned in the *Miracles*, see the chart in chapter II. In Luke's encounters with the strategos Kritinos we learn that

the general came from Thebes not by sea but by land, for "when he was on the way there and was approaching Larissa [in Thessaly] his ears were filled with the stories about the saint" (Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chap. 59).

<sup>64</sup> Magoulas, "Lives of Saints," pp. 133–34. See also Nestor and Witta, "Confraternity," p. 393 and n. 3.

<sup>65</sup> See Lemer, "Réforme Studine," p. 197 and n. 134; and Gourier, "Pantocrator Typikon," lines 134–44.

<sup>66</sup> See Nestor and Witta, "Confraternity," p. 393.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 170.

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The members of the confraternity (mostly ecclesiastical, according to their signatures on the charter) were assured a funeral, burial, and commemorative services. They also took on the larger responsibility for the poor of the area.

The Naupactian charter also has specific implications for the history of Hosios Loukas, for among its special reminiscences are those for the "al-holy late monk and abbot passage not only indicates involvement between the monastery and the wealthy Leobachos but also a close affiliation of the confraternity with Hosios Loukas. I believe Theodore Leobachos has been singled out because he was the principal benefactor of Hosios Loukas and therefore an important figure in local history. The time when date of the founding of the confraternity, as Nestor and Witta assume, it is just as likely that this important figure lived twenty-five or fifty or more years earlier. A tenth century prominent old family are mentioned in the land records of the Cadaster of Thebes—in fact, Leobachos are mentioned no less than forty-five times.<sup>68</sup> There is no reason the Theodore Leobachos and our abbot Theodore cannot have been the same person.

A wealthy and titled aristocrat named Theodore is described in a funerary inscription found at the monastery of Hosios Loukas,<sup>69</sup> this person took the monastic name of Theodosius on his retirement to the monastery (see the entry on Our Holy Father Theodosius in Chapter I). This Theodosius is very likely the one whose portrait appears in the crypt; he must have been abbot at the time the Katholikon was built and decorated. It is, as I propose, he had been Theodore Leobachos in his worldly life; he would indeed deserve special recognition in the Naupactian charter as the key patron and benefactor of Hosios Loukas. This connection also explains the many portraits of the two Theodosios in the Katholikon and the crypt, for the name-saint of a church's patron would receive special attention. The correlations between different types of evidence suggest that Theodore Leobachos was the abbot and principal patron of Hosios Loukas.

Burial and commemoration of the dead were concerns of the monks of Hosios Loukas, as they were of all monks, not only for the patrons but also common people. In fact these concerns are evident in the *Vita* in connection with a murder. After a murderer confesses his crime to Holy Luke, the saint stipulates that his sincere repentance be accompanied by strict performance of the proper rites for his victim.

He encouraged him by imposing disciplinary rules that he could bear, stressing especially that he should go to the tomb of the murdered one, shed many tears there, and complete at great expense the services of the third, ninth, and fortieth day. He should make genuflections there—if possible not less than three thousand.

Proper, if not free, burial and commemoration of the dead were strong concerns of the Church at this time and were the responsibility of society—of monks, of lay and religious societies, and, in short, of all pious Christians. They were prime concerns of

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., pp. 165, 169.

<sup>69</sup> See Stokas, *Okkidentales Christentum*, pp. 200ff.

<sup>70</sup> See Stokas, *Okkidentales Christentum*, pp. 200ff.

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*The monastic community at Hosios Loukas, as seen in the uses of the crypt, in the Niopion charter, and in the Vita.*

**PROPHETICS** associated with monks and holy men played a decided role in the history of Hosios Loukas. The famous story of the widow Daniela in Thessaloniki's Continuatio conserves a monk's prophecy about the future emperor Basil I.<sup>1</sup> The great eleventh-century philosopher and historian, Michael Psellos, scoffs at these monks with the power of prophecy, thereby confirming the strength of popular belief in their powers. As Charani points out, "the point is that prophecies were very common, that they influenced people, and that the prophets were almost always monks."<sup>2</sup>

The ability to prophecy was the sure mark of the holy man, and instances from the Life of Holy Luke are numerous. He prophesies the Bulgarian invasion, the Slavic invasion of the Peloponnese, and the Byzantine reconquest of Crete; he even prophesies his own death.<sup>3</sup> He also has the ability not only to see future events but to see "things that were at hand but escaped notice"; this includes knowledge of the hiding place of treasure in two cases and also of a gift of food intended for the saint but hidden.<sup>4</sup> If these services were lucrative, it is never made explicit, for the Vita never mentions donations to the monastery in thanks for prophecies or other services rendered to individuals. The general Krimites makes a substantial donation, but it is on account of the holy man's reputation as a miracle worker and the personal impression he creates that the strategos is inspired to make his contribution:

*[He (Krimites) became] joined to the holy one with an affection so warm that his soul was "glued onto him". . . . Indeed he tended to his every need, and most zealously performed every service and made every expenditure, as for example in donating what was most essential for the construction of the church of the superbly victorious martyr Barbara, much money along with the work force.<sup>5</sup>*

Shortly afterward, the saint prophesied the general's next post. This account represents the only written record of the initial patronage to the monastery, brought about by the general Krimites' personal contact with the saint and his prophetic and inspirational powers.

Luke's most famous prophecy concerned the victorious Byzantine campaign on the island of Crete in 961; the prophecy is recorded in chapter 60 of the Vita and will be discussed here among the military factors for the monastery's patronage.

An account follows in the Vita in which Philippus, a spatharios from Thebes, was entertained by the saint, his arrival having been prophesied by Luke. In a miraculous dream Philippus was shown that his suspicions about the saint's character were unfounded, but we are not told how the repentant spatharios made amends to the saint.<sup>6</sup>

Contact between Luke and these wealthy local dignitaries came about through his

<sup>1</sup> Charani, "The Monk," p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., chaps. 23, 27, 31.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., chap. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Charani, *Life of Saint Luke*, chaps. 24, 60, 64.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., chaps. 23, 27, 31.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., chap. 39.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., chap. 63.

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powers of insight, healing, and prophecy; such stories indicate known and probable sources of patronage for the monastery.

**MONKS** and holy men play one of their most crucial religious roles as intercessors wads of this belief on individuals and institutions were felt throughout Byzantine civilization.<sup>8</sup>

The Monk's prayers thus became much more effective than the prayers of ordinary folk, and the effectiveness of a monk's prayers was often the principal reason why many laymen founded new monasteries or endowed old ones.<sup>9</sup>

Belief in this power of intercession is reflected in the reading of the dipycrite during the liturgy, which underlined the responsibility of the monastic community to offer commemorative and intercessory prayers for the eternal salvation of a founder, for example. The visual form of their prayers of intercession shows monks or donors in attitudes of supplication, as in frescoes at Karabas Kilise in Cappadocia.<sup>10</sup>

The Lives of the saints demonstrate the respect of all classes for the monk or holy man who was marked as "a friend of God," as one who could mediate on any matter on behalf of his fellow Christians. Practical matters are also solved by the prayers of a holy man, as when Theodore of Sykeon brings an end to a disastrous drought.<sup>11</sup> Intercession with Christ and the saints was made possible because the monk had become one of the saints through his condition of life, his choice of an ascetic life.<sup>12</sup>

The theme of intercession is expressed in the frescoes of the crypt at Hosios Loukas, as discussed in Chapter I, in the Deesis of the apse (fig. 83), in the medallion of Christ with outstretched arms (fig. 78), and the scene of Holy Luke interceding for an unknown abbot on the west wall of the crypt (fig. 82).

Intercession is the primary concern reflected in two pairs of inscribed marble plaques on either side of the Royal Door of the Katholikon, the door from the narthex into the naos of the church. The two inscriptions read:

Thrice blessed Luke receive at the hands of Gregory, this pious work of sculpture which he has wrought encouraged by the intercessions [presbeiai], giving it for the ending and remission of sins.

O Christ grant remission of sins to me, Gregory the monk, thy servant, who wrought this marblework.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See Brown, "Holy Man," pp. 121, 196; and Brown, "Dark Age Crisis," p. 269, on the low antique roots of this belief. "Thus the core of the holy man's power in late antique society was the belief that he was there to act as an intercessor with God. Whether living or dead he was a favoured courier in the distant empire of heaven; he had gained a boldness to speak up successfully for his protégés before the throne of Christ."

<sup>9</sup> Charani, "The Monk," p. 74.

<sup>10</sup> See Rudolf, *Byzantine Carpentry*, pp. 162–164.

<sup>11</sup> Dowden and Barnes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, p.

133; Theodore of Sykeon.

<sup>12</sup> "Men commonly intercede in love because he

was thought to have been too weak to interfere with God's power," von Brown, "Holy Man," p. 197.

<sup>13</sup> See Scholz and Rümpler, *Monasteries*, p. 25, for

drawings of the plaques and transcriptions and for

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In hopes of intercessory prayers, the monk Gregory donated funds for the embellishment of the Katholikon. The question of who this Gregory is finds one possible explanation in the Vita. A friend and follower of Holy Luke who was a priest (Luke himself was not a priest) is mentioned several times, especially in his role of ministering to the saint on his deathbed and arranging his burial.<sup>50</sup> If the Gregory of the inscription is the Gregory of the Vita, he made his donation with special zeal for he had known the saint personally and had good reason to hope for a sympathetic response to his prayer for intercession.

The Vita of the saint itself also reflects this important belief in a number of passages. For example, in the epilogue to the Life and Miracles the author states, "we have selected for narration a few examples of his [Luke's] intercession [parousia] with God," and later that he hopes that "by your [Luke's] intercession [presbeia], guidance, and illumination from above you save my soul and rescue it from eternal punishment."<sup>51</sup>

Just as the decoration of the crypt and the marble plaques in the Katholikon express the hope for benign intercession with God by Holy Luke and the saints in behalf of the faithful, the author of the Vita expresses a similar belief. He states clearly for all to hear as the work is read aloud that his work is written as a form of dedication, indicating his trust in the intercessory power of the saint.

IN THE wake of iconoclasm the role of monasteries as strongholds of orthodoxy became crucial, and in this too the role of Holy Luke and his monastery was significant. Orthodox faith was maintained in the empire through the monastic presence that also served to consolidate the immigrant populations into orthodoxy; communities of monks thereby greatly contributed to its economic and political stability. Both in the cities and in rural regions this presence became increasingly important in the middle Byzantine period.<sup>52</sup>

During the great period of territorial expansion of the empire from the end of the ninth century to 1071, the varied ethnic populations needed to be assimilated quickly.<sup>53</sup> The Church was instrumental in the Hellenization of the Slavs in Greece in the ninth century as part of the overall process of synthesis. The Greek language maintained solidly by the Church played a role in the Hellenization as well as the Christianization of the empire.<sup>54</sup>

The Chronicle of Monembasia describes the cutting off of the Balkans from the rest of the empire in the eighth and ninth centuries, but it is clear that Greeks who had fled returned, reestablishing both the language and the religion.<sup>55</sup> Monasteries in particular kept the essential elements of Byzantine society alive.<sup>56</sup> There is evidence that Greek

these translations of the inscriptions.

<sup>50</sup> See Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chapter 37, 64.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 19. Charanis, "How Greek Was the

Byzantine Empire?" *Bucknell Review* 11 (1960): 114.

<sup>52</sup> Charanis, "The Monk," pp. 64–71.

<sup>53</sup> Charanis, "Observations on the Demography of

the Byzantine Empire," in *Proceedings of the XIII<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford,

1992), p. 17.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 19. Charanis, "How Greek Was the

Byzantine Empire?" *Bucknell Review* 11 (1960): 114.

<sup>55</sup> Charanis, "Aspects of Hellenization," p. 116.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 118.

refugees in Italy kept the language and religion consolidated until the threat ceased and enabled them to return to Greece. The chronicle reports the return of reconquest of the Balkans and the policy of settlement there of Christians from other parts of the empire:  
"In this way the barbarians were instructed in the will and way of God and were baptised and brought into the Christian faith."<sup>57</sup> Central Greece was Hellenized by a gradual, piecemeal, rural policy of constant pursuit of "evangelization" and of rechristianization of Greeks and of Orthodoxy.<sup>58</sup>

The role of the holy man has been recorded in this time of unrest as not only helping convert the barbarians to Christianity and maintain the Christian tradition but performing numerous social roles of teacher, missionary, and physician, according to Hermann Athanasius of Methone was responsible for converting the entire area to Christianity, whereas Peter of Argos, who became a bishop, aided his countrymen under siege from Bulgarians and Arabs.<sup>59</sup>

The Vita provides a glimpse of the uncertainty of the times due to successive invasions of barbarians. The saint's grandparents were forced to flee invaders more than once, and the presence of military patrols on roads resulted in mosaics for the rebellious young Loukas.<sup>60</sup> The saint himself, and later his monastery, constituted an important Christian presence in Hellas. Invasion of Saracens (Arabs) called *qawarin*, then of Bulgarians (*Skythikoi*) and Hungarians (*Turkoi*) caused death and destruction for the inhabitants of the area.<sup>61</sup> Luke led bands of refugees to the island of Amorgos for refuge; when invaders were in the area, Luke signaled the people when they should flee and when to stay, thanks to his prophetic vision.<sup>62</sup> There are frequent references throughout the Vita to heathens or barbarians, as opposed to believers. The Vita demonstrates that Christianity was the binding identity of the Greeks of Hellas and that to many Holy Luke represented the power and protection of the religion.

The monastery of Hosios Loukas played an important social and religious role in the life of the immediate area. Philanthropic undertakings provided care, both material and medical, and especially help for the poor. The poor were also provided with burial and commemorative services, as the monastic community acted together with the confraternity of Naupactos. Since Hosios Loukas was on a well-traveled route between the Adriatic and Aegean seas and had a substantial volume of traffic due to its location, this kept the monastery in touch with the wider Byzantine world. Visits from governmental or ecclesiastical officials were thus a common occurrence there. That the monastery served as a refuge is dramatized in the Vita by the description of invading barbarians,

<sup>57</sup> P. Lemerle, "La chronique imprégnée de démotivisme," *REB* 11 (1961): 109–11.

<sup>58</sup> Heron, "Aspects of Hellenization," p. 129. Also Megaw in referring to ninth-century wars and those that followed in the tenth century states that the understanding which this group attained of the main拜占庭 centre under Basil I probably effected a further consolidation of ecclesiastical authority in connection with renewed campaigns of evangelization, campaigns in which

foundations in rural areas, such as that at Skopion, would doubtless have played their part ("Ninth-Century Scythica," p. 12).

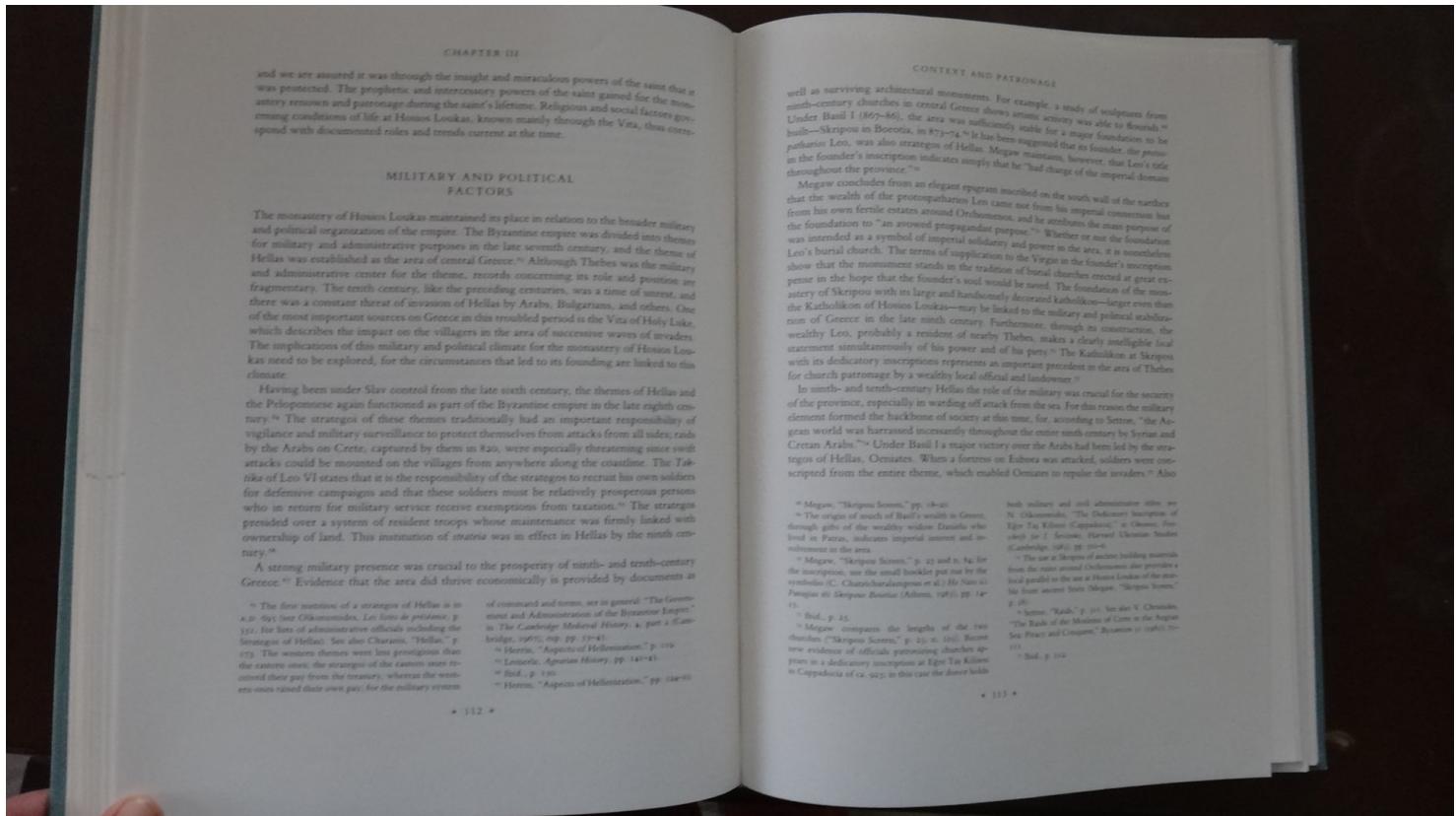
<sup>59</sup> Heron, "Aspects of Hellenization," pp. 129–30.

<sup>60</sup> Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chapter 2.

<sup>61</sup> Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chapter 2.

<sup>62</sup> See Da Costa-Louline, "Saints of Galicia," pp. 330–48. For the Turks, see Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chapter 2.

<sup>63</sup> See Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chapter 20.



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under Basil, a Peloponnesian strategos led a similar victory at Methone. Aegina however fell victim to the Moslems in 826 and again in 896 causing the inhabitants to flee.<sup>56</sup> At least one attempt was made by the military administration of Hellas in the ninth century to raise troops for an attempt to regain Crete, the closest and best-established base of Arab operations threatening the Greek coast.<sup>57</sup>

There is little evidence of the flourishing Arab culture that must have existed on Crete during the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>58</sup> The fall of the capital city of Candia to the Byzantine general Nicephorus Phocas in 961—and the succeeding Crusades—seem to have all but obliterated traces of Arab dwelling and culture.<sup>59</sup> Some idea of the great lavishness and wealth of Arab Crete can be gleaned from the description by Leo Diakonos of the booty taken at its capture, as displayed in Nicephorus's triumph in Constantinople:

After a magnificent reception by the emperor Romanus, he celebrated a triumph at the Hippodrome, before all the assembled people who marvelled at the magnitude and splendour of the booty. For a vast amount of gold and silver was to be seen, as well as barbarian coins of refined gold, garments shot with gold, purple carpets, and all sorts of treasures, crafted with the greatest skill, sparkling with gold and precious stones. There were also full sets of armor, helmets, swords and breastplates, all gilded, and countless weapons, shields and back-bent bows (If someone happened by there, he would think that the entire wealth of the barbarian land had been collected at that time in the Hippodrome).<sup>60</sup>

Unfortunately none of this booty survives that can be identified with certainty, although we can get an idea of its elegance and quality from some pieces in the treasury of San Marco in Venice.<sup>61</sup> What must be surmised is the wider impact of this booty on the empire, particularly after it fell into the hands of the troops and their strategos who had contributed to the victory.

As military support was solicited from the themes previously, it was undoubtedly required by Nicephorus Phocas at the time of the Cretan campaign of 961, especially from the themes most affected by the marauding Arabs: the themes of Thrace (of which Nicephorus was himself strategos), Hellas, Peloponnesus, and the Aegean Sea. Help in the form of prayers was also solicited by Nicephorus from monasteries around the em-

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 311.

<sup>57</sup> Herrin, "Aspects of Helleneization," p. 125 and n. 80; Miles, "Byzantium and the Arabs," pp. 57, describes the impact of Arab assaults on Greek inhabi-

<sup>58</sup> Miles, "Byzantium and the Arabs," pp. 29–30; the question of whether Athens was occupied by Arabs is still unresolved. Numerous pseudo-Kufic and animal motifs appear in architectural decoration in Greece that may be Arabic in origin and spirit of their transmission remain unclear. See also Grabar, "La dé- coration architecturale," pp. 15–37.

<sup>59</sup> Miles, "Byzantium and the Arabs," p. 17.

<sup>60</sup> I owe Alice-Mary Talbot thanks for this transla-

tion from Leo the Deacon (Bonn ed., pp. 27–30), from chap. 12.

<sup>61</sup> A number of objects of ninth- and tenth-century Abbasid origin survive in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice. Some of them might have been part of the spoils brought from Constantinople to Venice after the Fourth Crusade. They can be seen as a representation of the character of those "treasures crafted with the greatest skill" (see in *The Treasury of San Marco Venice*, Metropolitan Museum of Art catalogue [New York, 1984], Daniel Alcouffe, "Islamic Hard-stone-carving," pp. 207–8 and catalogue nos. 29–32 with plates on pp. 207–27).

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fire, monastic communities were urged to pray fervently for the defeat of the Arab infidel.<sup>62</sup> One community where prayers were solicited was Mount Athos, and St. Athanasius of Athos himself came to Crete at the time of the campaign to offer spiritual support. Soon after, Nicephorus handsomely endowed Athanagios with funds necessary to commence the building of his monastery, the Great Lavra.<sup>63</sup>

Luke of Serrai had prophesied Nicephorus's victory on Crete.

These things are indeed a source of wonder but his prophecy concerning Crete almost provokes disbelief, even though it is well attested, for nearly twenty years earlier he made a prediction that it would be conquered and under whose the conquest would take place? he said clearly, "Romanus will subdue Crete." But since Romanus the elder was ruling the empire at the time of his prediction, someone asked him if this meant the one who was currently ruling and he said, "Not this one, but another one."<sup>64</sup>

The monastery of Hosios Loukas thus acquired special distinction after this victory since it was Luke's burial place.<sup>65</sup> We can also assume it would have received some form of recognition, although we have no specific record of this. Participating monks and their soldiers would have reaped substantial rewards, either from spoils or as gifts from their leaders. The Cretan victory not only relieved the area of central Greece of a dangerous threat to its security but it was also the cause of a great influx of wealth. A natural repository for some of this wealth would have been gifts and offerings to monasteries or gratitude for monks' prayers. Furthermore, it follows that a chief recipient of these gifts would have been the monastery of Hosios Loukas—in recognition of the prophecy fulfilled, which took on special significance at this time as evidence of divine protection of Hellas through the intercession of the saint.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

The third set of factors to be considered in relation to Hosios Loukas are administrative and economic ones, for we should understand the possible regional incentives for the founding of this monastery. Exploring questions of ownership, patronage, and regulation of monasteries in relation to the community or society around them leads to a practical view of what the situation at Hosios Loukas must have been.

The first question, of ownership of monasteries, has been studied recently, contributing greatly to our understanding of the various systems in effect during the middle Byzantine period.<sup>66</sup> The proprietary system of church or monastery ownership has its roots in Justinian's legislation in which lay owners were first given rights to repair exca-

<sup>62</sup> Diamantidis, *Egktenies leyzantikis*, da XII siècle (Paris, 1960), p. 147, letter no. 83.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>64</sup> See Constant. *Life of Saint Luke*, chap. 60.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>66</sup> See Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*.

ing structures in return for the title of *kouros kai kyrios* (founder).<sup>50</sup> In the first half of the tenth century many private and imperial monasteries were founded, for example, in the Peloponnesus, where high officials were granted the *anaplogia* or foundation charter,<sup>51</sup> for personal profit led to Nicephorus Phocas's Edict of 964 banning the founding of new ecclesiastical foundations, in order to bolster support of existing ones. Also initiated at this time, before the reign of Basil II, was the system called *charistikai*, a public program allowing private management of religious institutions by lay benefactors.<sup>52</sup> Private profit often motivated this local sponsorship of monastic foundations when local bishops granted them "in chrysanthiki".<sup>53</sup> It was out of a *charistikarioi*'s desire for personal profit that the system so often failed.<sup>54</sup>

The custom then arose of naming local government officials as trustees or protectors of the monasteries. The rights of the founders in relation to the trustees were carefully formulated in typika, so that the monastery was protected from exploitation and remained essentially autonomous and self-governing.<sup>55</sup> One of the most important rights of the founder was burial and commemoration within the monastery. By the late eleventh century all monastic charters used this form of organization.<sup>56</sup> Since there are no surviving records that indicate whether the monastery of Hosios Loukas was under the control of a charistikarioi or whether it had its own founder's typikon and operated more autonomously, both of these options will be explored, thus information combined with what indications do survive in documents on Hosios Loukas allows us to construct a hypothetical view of the monastery's administration and patronage.

Patronage necessary for setting up or expanding a monastery could come through two principal channels: imperial or aristocratic and local. Imperial patronage is documented in the case of the Lavra founded by St. Athanasius on Mount Athos in 961; Nicephorus Phocas in gratitude for Athanasius's spiritual support of his reconquest of Crete gave the money necessary for the founding of the Great Lavra monastery. Later the emperor John Tzimiskes also made contributions.<sup>57</sup>

Patronage by wealthy aristocrats was responsible for the building of churches in some provincial centers. Kastoria, Macedonia is an example. There, a number of small churches were founded by members of the local elite in the tenth and eleventh centuries with enough endowment to be run as monasteries.<sup>58</sup> These were family foundations with calculated benefits for the patron; in her study of these churches Ann Wharton says:

A private monastery in Byzantium in the Middle Ages represented an investment

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., pp. 31–35.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. the strategos of the Peloponnesus in the Vita

of Nikon; see Da Costa-Louillet, "Savits de grèce,"

pp. 380–82.

<sup>52</sup> Charaxas, "Monastic Properties," pp. 70–71.

<sup>53</sup> Thomas, *Priests Religious Foundations*, pp. 137–

61.

<sup>54</sup> P. Meyer, *Das Hauptproblem für die Geschichte*

*der Abtholzerei* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 107; Charaxas,

"Monastic Properties," p. 71.

<sup>55</sup> John of Antioch does not allow for any generous

use of the position of charistikarioi; see Thomas, *Priests Religious Foundations*, pp. 189–91.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., pp. 211–16.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 223.

<sup>58</sup> Lemere, "La vie antique," pp. 77–98; Athanasius's reproaches to Nicephorus when he failed to become a monk as he had promised resulted in gifts of even more money for the monastery.

<sup>59</sup> Epistola, "Kastoria," pp. 260–262.

in some ways analogous to a modern insurance policy. It provided the donor with prayers for his and his family's souls, with a respectable place of retirement and/or burial for the members of his family, and even, if he were lucky, with a small profit.<sup>59</sup>

The size and landlessness of the undertaking was relative to the local wealth, some communities being able to support larger foundations than others.<sup>60</sup>

Provincial churches of Cappadocia were patronized by local landowners. In the case of the "Pigeon House" at Cavgan it is thought that local landowners, perhaps members of the family of the emperor Nicephorus Phocas, who were connected with the army were responsible and that the church was founded in thanks for a military victory and as an invocation for continued divine support.<sup>61</sup>

A late eleventh-century document, the will of Eustathios Boiles, gives valuable testimony about the concerns of a wealthy landowner, a protopatricheus, in the eastern provinces, in the theme of Berriz. His immense possessions which are described variously include churches and monasteries along with these stables and their precious moveable objects among vessels, clothing, and books.<sup>62</sup> The commemorative service for one church intended to serve as his own burial place and that of his family are precisely outlined. The monasteries, as well as other parts of his land, were owned outright by him.

For tenth-century Hellas, the information on land use and the sources and distribution of wealth is scattered. Our most illuminating documents is the *cadastrum* of Thessaloniki that we have already mentioned, a fiscal taxation on land holdings in Novgorod compiled in the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>63</sup> Since it deals with a region adjoining Serbia, it is of interest in connection with Hosios Loukas's patronage. It is noteworthy that the taxation refers to landowners of high social status, not to peasants or the poor, "by the end of the eleventh century the land was in the hands of the dynasts, some of whom lived far from their fields and were even connected with southern Italy and Sicily."<sup>64</sup> Furthermore the conditions described in the *cadastrum* can be assumed to have applied in the tenth century as well, according to Svoronos: "A primary conclusion is then imposed: the continuity of fiscal policies, in spite of differences of application from the tenth to the end of the eleventh century."<sup>65</sup> The picture given by the *cadastrum* is of wealthy and titled landowners alongside peasants who lived in rural communes on their own lands. As

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 207; see also p. 202, on family patronage patterns.

<sup>61</sup> Another family foundation was the Panagia Ton Chelikou in Selinika, founded according to the inscription in memory of the keeper of Longobards by his wife; see Papadopoulos, *Handwritten*, p. 171.

<sup>62</sup> Vryonis, "Decline of Medieval Hellas," p. 52; see esp. Rodley, "Pigeon House," pp. 123–24 and 127. "More probably the area harboured hermits and small communities of monks whose presence attracted the attention of persons who provided for the erection and decoration of churches." A further

<sup>63</sup> Katsikas and Vryonis, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, p. 77.

<sup>64</sup> Vryonis, "Decline of Medieval Hellas," p. 52.

<sup>65</sup> For an overview of the significance of the *cadastrum*, see Katsikas and Vryonis, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, p. 77.

<sup>66</sup> Vryonis, "Cadastrum," p. 144.

Lemerle points out, however, the status of the population mentioned would seem to be more bourgeois than aristocratic.<sup>103</sup>

In the *Vita of Holy Luke* there is ample evidence of two social and economic groups. The first group comprises villagers who are settled along the Gulf of Corinth. These join the saint's following and are described as belonging to the *chorion*.<sup>104</sup> They are the people with whom the saint is most concerned, indeed his agrarian origins as one of them are defined, for his grandfather was a squatter on land near Kastorion when the family first moved to the region.<sup>105</sup>

The second group is the wealthy and powerful class also mentioned by the Vita. The spatharios Philippos was accustomed frequently to associate with Luke because his brother was one of the saint's close associates; when the three meet, Luke shares in luxurious banqueting, a symbol of Philippos's great wealth.<sup>106</sup> The saint's contact with wealth and power is also apparent in the account of the visit of the archbishop of Corinth, the most wealthy and influential person of Luke's acquaintance, who offers to make a contribution in gold.<sup>107</sup>

Another source of wealth is also suggested by the Vita. Ships and shipowners are mentioned, and trade routes, like pilgrimage routes, must have used the Gulf of Corinth.<sup>108</sup>

There was a ship sailing from Italy, and in the middle of the night it was greatly tossed about by a storm. Having escaped the danger through his [Luke's] prayers it came with difficulty to his island. Now since the saint who lived there was not unknown to the sailors, as soon as they disembarked from the ship they went to the saint and told him what had happened and recounted their unexpected salvation.

The graffiti of ships and nets on the walls of the crypt attest the continuing association of the monastery with mariners (figs. 79, 81). The occurrence of the most graffiti of this type on the two walls inside the entrance of the crypt suggests they were a form of supplication for intercessory prayers for a safe journey.

One reason why there would regularly be ships from Italy in the Gulf of Corinth would be the silk trade.<sup>109</sup> In Weigand's investigation of the Byzantine silk industry he

<sup>103</sup> Lemire, *Agriotes History*, p. 108, for an outline of the rural structure of landholding for the community see pp. 17–19 and p. 76 on the Basil Code, the *theoria* was the unit for dwelling and for cultivation of land, a unit made up of the lands whose cultivators lived in a single village, as already established in the Novels of Justinian (nos. 18, 19).

<sup>104</sup> Constant., *Vita of Saint Luke*, chap. 35.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., chap. 61; however, spatharios is not as high a rank as spatharakandidates by the mid-tenth century.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., chap. 45.

<sup>107</sup> The story of Demetrios the shipowner makes one wonder what manner of shipping brought him

to the region of Ionia/Asia for frequent visits (Ibid., chap. 33). In another story (ibid., 32) a "ship sailing from Italy" was saved from shipwreck by the intervention of the saint and came safely to shore on Amphilochos; the crew already knew about Holy Luke, evidently because this was a regular route for them. What was it carrying? Although this may have been a route for trans-Eurasian goods across the isthmus of Corinth, was the traffic also in products produced along the Gulf itself?

<sup>108</sup> On silk production see N. Oikonomides, "Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium from the Sixth to the Ninth Century: The Seals of Komnenos," *DOP*, 40 (1996) 11–51, and Lopez, "Silk Industry." See also A. Starmann, "An Art Historical Study of

concludes that Thebes was its center, probably from the ninth century or earlier.<sup>110</sup> Along with Patras, Corinth, and Athens, Thebes was the leader of this group of silk-producing towns.<sup>111</sup> Weigand posits that pseudo-Kufic and stylized animal designs made their way into the sculptural vocabulary of the region from the ninth century on through throughout central Greece, where they are typical, but later to Sicily, Venice, and western Europe. Thebes was a natural center of the industry because of its abundance of water and the presence of certain minerals in the water, important for the washing and dying process.<sup>112</sup> A further reason for supposing the early establishment of the silk industry was in Thebes is cited: "Thebes ranked as a bishopric at the beginning of the ninth century and was throughout this time the seat of the strategos of Hellas."<sup>113</sup> As a seat of religious and political authority, Thebes was suitably the center of this luxury industry in the western empire.

The importance of the silk industry lay in its high monetary and symbolic value for the empire. Silk "was the attire of the Emperor and the aristocracy, an indispensable symbol of political power and a prime requirement for ecclesiastical ceremonies."<sup>114</sup> It was crucial for the emperor to maintain control, in fact a monopoly, on the silk industry; its price was kept at a high level, and only the privileged were allowed to wear garments of silk.

As a further source of the local wealth that was applied to the early patronage of Hosios Loukas, silk must be considered. There is abundant evidence in the decoration of the monastery of inspiration by motifs used on silks. The animal designs on the plaques under the windows are similar to those on silk weavings, pseudo-Kufic ornament in the brickwork as well as in the mosaic and fresco decoration has been cited as undeniable evidence of Islamic influence, which might have spread by various media including silk.<sup>115</sup> If Thebes was a great silk-producing center, not only would these motifs have been available as a possible inspiration for sculpture and painting, but the great wealth generated by the industry may well have been instrumental indirectly in supporting a local economy that could produce such a lavish foundation as Hosios Loukas.

An episode in the Vita provides an intriguing reference to this luxurious cloth industry. In the story of the visit of Philippos the spatharios to the monastery, he had a dream with a vision of the saint:

Then he raised his eyes toward the person being pointed out and saw a great and marvelous thing: an exceedingly precious purple cloth [*porphyra*] was spread out over the earth and above it the great man [Holy Luke] was standing, gleaming won-

<sup>109</sup> [Paris, 1998], p. 189.

<sup>110</sup> Weigand, "Hellenisch-Byzantinische Seiden-

weber," pp. 1–4.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 293.

<sup>112</sup> Lopez, "Silk Industries," p. 1.

<sup>113</sup> Gerhart, "La décoration archéomurale," pp. 13–

15, esp. p. 14 on the influence of silk designs

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dously and indescribably both from his body and from his clothing and seen entirely as light.<sup>109</sup>

This appears to be a psychological image, for purple silk cloth would have been associated with the spatharios possibly because of the industry in which he was engaged: the production of purple silk for the imperial house.<sup>110</sup> If the image is the author's, it could still indicate Philippus's connection with silk of highest quality, an industry probably controlled by the civil aristocracy of Thebes.<sup>111</sup>

Civil patronage could have come to the monastery of Hosios Loukas partly through Philippus the wealthy spatharios of Thebes who may have been granted the monastery in charistikai. Military patronage could also have played a significant role because of the sudden influx of wealth into Hellas after the Cretan campaign. However, both these factors converge if we return to the connection of the monastery with Theodore Leobachos, the abbot of Hosios Loukas mentioned in the Naupactos charter.

A HYPOTHESIS will now be considered that correlates with the three factors we have discussed: religious, military, and economic. It hinges on the two fresco portraits of abbots, Theodosius and Philotheos, in the southeast vault of the crypt.

Military patronage of monasteries in nearby communities is documented. In the peloponnesian military governors became protectors and patrons of the monasteries of prominent holy men.<sup>112</sup> The great prominence of portraits of military saints at Hosios Loukas may indicate patronage for the Katholikon by a powerful local military figure, a strategos who had acquired great wealth in the Cretan campaign.<sup>113</sup> Among the military portraits of the Katholikon alone it has been noted that there were at least five Theodoses; it has been suggested this could reflect the wishes of a donor by that name, Theodore Leobachos.<sup>114</sup>

If Theodore Leobachos took the monastic name of Theodosius when he retired from the world, he could be the titled aristocrat discussed on the funeral plaque discovered at the monastery with the inscription:

<sup>109</sup> Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chap. 63. Philippus (I) can be the color term, or a purple robe, an appropriate title for the man who would be of silk worth it, I think, underneath. For the production of purple silk in the Thebes, see Lopez, "Silk Industry," p. 34.

<sup>110</sup> It is well known that there was a large Jewish population in Thebes in the medieval period, and also that Jews often took on the task of dying and also of spinning and embroidering silk. (Wörgand, "Hellenistic Silk Production in Late Antiquity," pp. 11–12.)

<sup>111</sup> A kommerkaros is also mentioned in one of the healing *miracles* of the Vitsa; these people were the officials responsible for overseeing the production and distribution of silk (Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chap. 62). Also, the name of one of the monasteries listed in the Naupactos charter, Blavas, from the word for "purple cloth of silk," suggests he was connected with the silk industry (see Neshir and Witta,

"Confederates," p. 277 and n. 272; for a study of the economy of the region around Thebes and Naupactos in imperial periods, see C. G. Hazard, *The Decline of Imperial Authority in Southwest Central Greece and the Role of Archontes and Bishops in the Failure of Byzantine Resistance and Reconquest 1180–1227* A.D., Ph.D., Columbia University, 1958, esp. pp. 22–25).

<sup>112</sup> This is the case of Niketas Mestanites of Sparta. That he was considered part of the local militia is demonstrated by the prominent placing of his portrait on the west wall of the naiskos at Hosios Loukas.

<sup>113</sup> For further discussion of this possibility in connection with the decoration of the church, see my discussion in the section "Program and Meaning" in Chapter I.

<sup>114</sup> Mouriki, *Nea Moni*, p. 236.

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Formerly Theodosius, in turn Theodosius, distinguished protonous, now the monk, and the thrice bearer of the mystic garment.<sup>115</sup>

In the significantly placed portrait medallion of the crypt we could then recognize the monk and abbot of Stein's lord Theodosios Leobachos,<sup>116</sup> in the Naupactos charter.<sup>117</sup>

Furthermore, this hypothesis would fit logistical aspects of the crypt. In the memory of the monks Paul and Timothy of the Egeria monastery, whose typikon is one of our best records of monastic customs, the brothers Theodosius and Philippus of the Vitsa might have become patron-founders and abbots of Hosios Loukas.<sup>118</sup> If Philippus had taken the monastic name of Philotheos he could be the founder mentioned in the Akolouthia (the prayers for the translation of Luke's relics) as being responsible for the building of the church.<sup>119</sup> The two tombs in the crypt on either side of the sanctuary would then be explained: they were built for the two brothers who were the patrons for the construction and decoration of the Katholikon. The locations of their portraits and those of their namesakes in the southern and northeast vaults were planned to correspond to their tombs in the bays beneath.

The rich and powerful of Thebes no doubt played a role in the building, decoration, and maintenance of the monastery, its treasures, its undoubtedly opulent portable objects, its other material embellishments, and its attached land-holdings. The Katholikon at Scrupou sets a significant precedent for wealthy Theban patronage of a burial church in the area. That the Katholikon was founded to be the final resting place of Holy Luke and of the monastery's patrons, two aristocrats of Thebes who had become monks, seems likely in the light of the cultural and social currents in tenth-century Hellas.

<sup>115</sup> See Stolas, *Oikonomikon Chronicon*, p. 28. Judd Herin kindly tells me that *antipatros* in combination with *patrois* probably indicates that he held the position of thematic governor, for the *antipatros* would normally be the son of the *patros*. For the *antipatros* of the Vitsa of Hosios Meliton with this meaning, the term *katepanos* is current in South Italian administration (A. Bon, *Le Peloponnes byzantin* [Paris, 1994], p. 91); the phrase "thrice bearer of the mystic garment," however, demands elucidation, although the mention of a garment might again suggest ties with silk production, or a

robe signifying a high office.

<sup>116</sup> Nestor and Witta, "Confederates," p. 296.

<sup>117</sup> Nestor and Witta, "Confederates," p. 296; also see Connor, *Life of Saint Luke*, chap. 5.

<sup>118</sup> At the time of the translation of Luke's relics, these prayers were written to be part of the repertoire of Great Feasts (see Stolas, *Oikonomikon Chronicon*, p. 272). I connect them in connection with Philotheos in Chapter I. See also Palla, "Zur Topographie und Chronologie von Hosios Loukas," pp. 232–3.

## CONCLUSION

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LEAVING THE CRYPT and the subtle colors and white highlights of its frescoes, we now recognize that they represent a coherent view. The beauty of these frescoes first challenged us to answer questions they posed: Who is represented? Why were these images selected? What messages did the Byzantine viewer find encoded in them? Their style and models also required definition. How did they fit into the artistic developments of the time, and what was the relationship between artist and patron? Fundamental to the study was the question of function: What was the connection between the frescoes and the use of space in the crypt? Here we were fortunate to have the *Life*, which enabled us to recognize the full significance of the frescoes. With the *Life*, a comprehensive view of the undertaking became possible. Through it the circumstances surrounding the mid-tenth-century founding of the monastery became intelligible, something rarely possible in the study of a Byzantine monument. The *Vita* evokes the times of threat and trouble for village people in the region of the Gulf of Corinth, patterns of monastic life, and Luke's miraculous powers of prophecy and healing which became part of the consciousness and identity of the people of Hellas. Even after his death, his miracle-working tomb offered protection and healing, bringing fame and crowds of pilgrims to the place.

The events of this *Life* contribute a new set of criteria for dating the monastery in the last half of the tenth century. They provide not only valuable testimony supporting new and precise datings for the building of the Panagia church (946–55) and the Katholikon (956–70) but also a vivid sense of the lives and concerns of this holy man, of other monks, and of all those associated with him and his monastery. Among them, we have argued, were wealthy officials from Thebes who in retiring from the world financed the building and decoration (c. 970–1000) of the great Katholikon, with the crypt as their burial place; they are the abbots Theodosios (known also by his worldly name, Theodore Leobachos) and Philotheus, who still look down from their medallion portraits above the southeast bay of the crypt. The *Vita* mentions Gregorios the monk who was very likely the donor of the marble revetment of the Katholikon. Pancratius the healer can also be imagined in his role at the tomb. The *Life* helps explain many features of the crypt and its frescoes while providing a vivid sense of their religious, social, and historical context. The local pride of pious villagers and wealthy patrons alike in their own miracle-working saint (his popular appeal being analogous in many ways to that of urban saints of Thessaloniki or Constantinople) emerges as the clear incentive for the monastery's creation.

The monastery of Hosios Loukas has only begun to yield up its secrets. For not only does the great Katholikon merit closer study than could be attempted in this monograph, but the crypt itself is made up of much more than the graceful and expressive figures of the frescoes or of the hymning and processions we imagine on the saint's feast

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day. For it involves people, their lives, skills, beliefs, everyday habits, and mutual concerns. All combine here as part of a remote and complex past: saints, monks, artists, villagers, pilgrims, patrons, supplicants. Through them the process of creation of this monument, at this time and in this place, becomes momentarily intelligible as art and context merge in a new and vivid reality.

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Plate 1: St. Valentine (1-6)

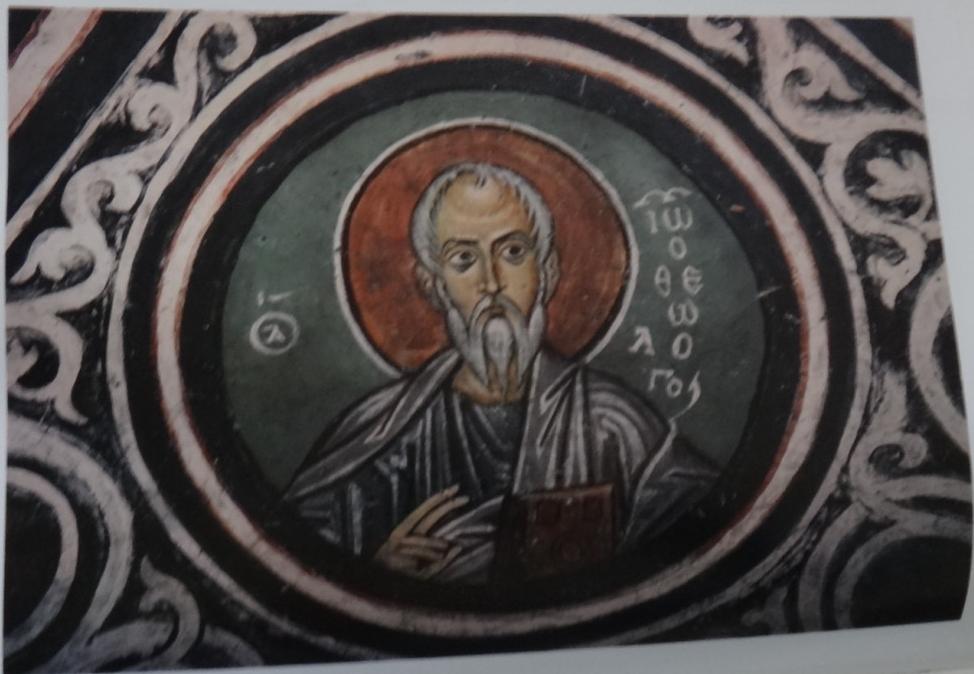


Plate 5. St. John the Theologian (D. 6)



Plate 3. Our Holy Father Loukas (J 1)



Plate 4. Entry into Jerusalem (C. North)

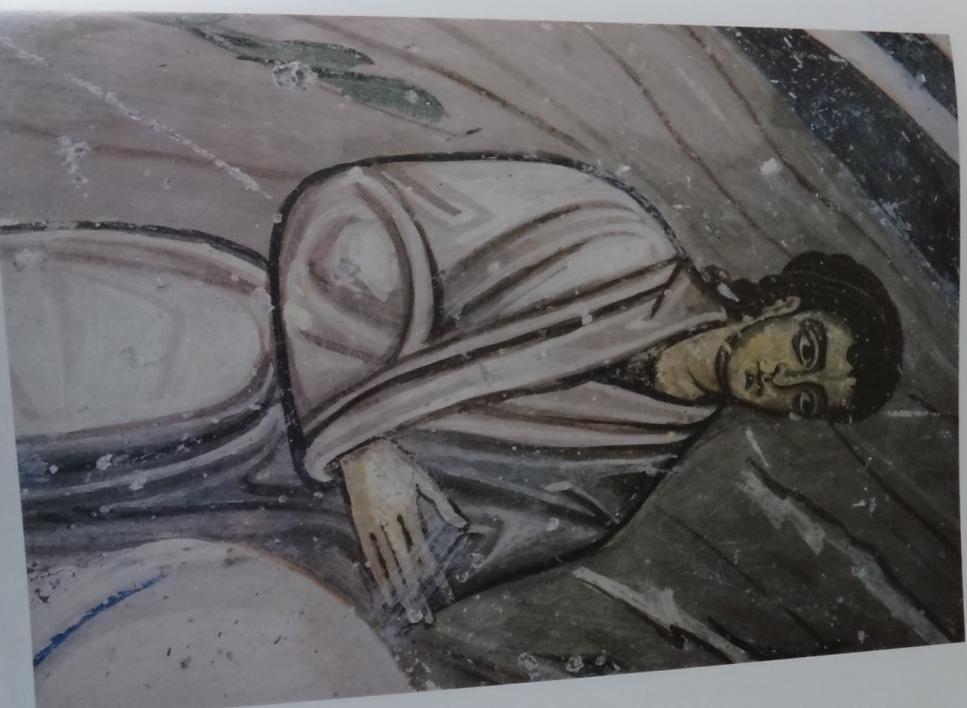


Fig. 5. Entry into Jerusalem, detail: St. John or St. Thomas



Plate 6. Entry into Jerusalem, detail: Elders

Hill, John, "Mural Painting, St. Mary's, C. 1940," 7, Part





Plate 8. Last Supper (G South), detail

Figure 9. Deposition (J East), detail



Plate 10. Burial; The Women at the Tomb (J South)





Fresco: The Woman at the Tomb (13th century, detail)



Plate 12. Incredulity of Thomas (H South)

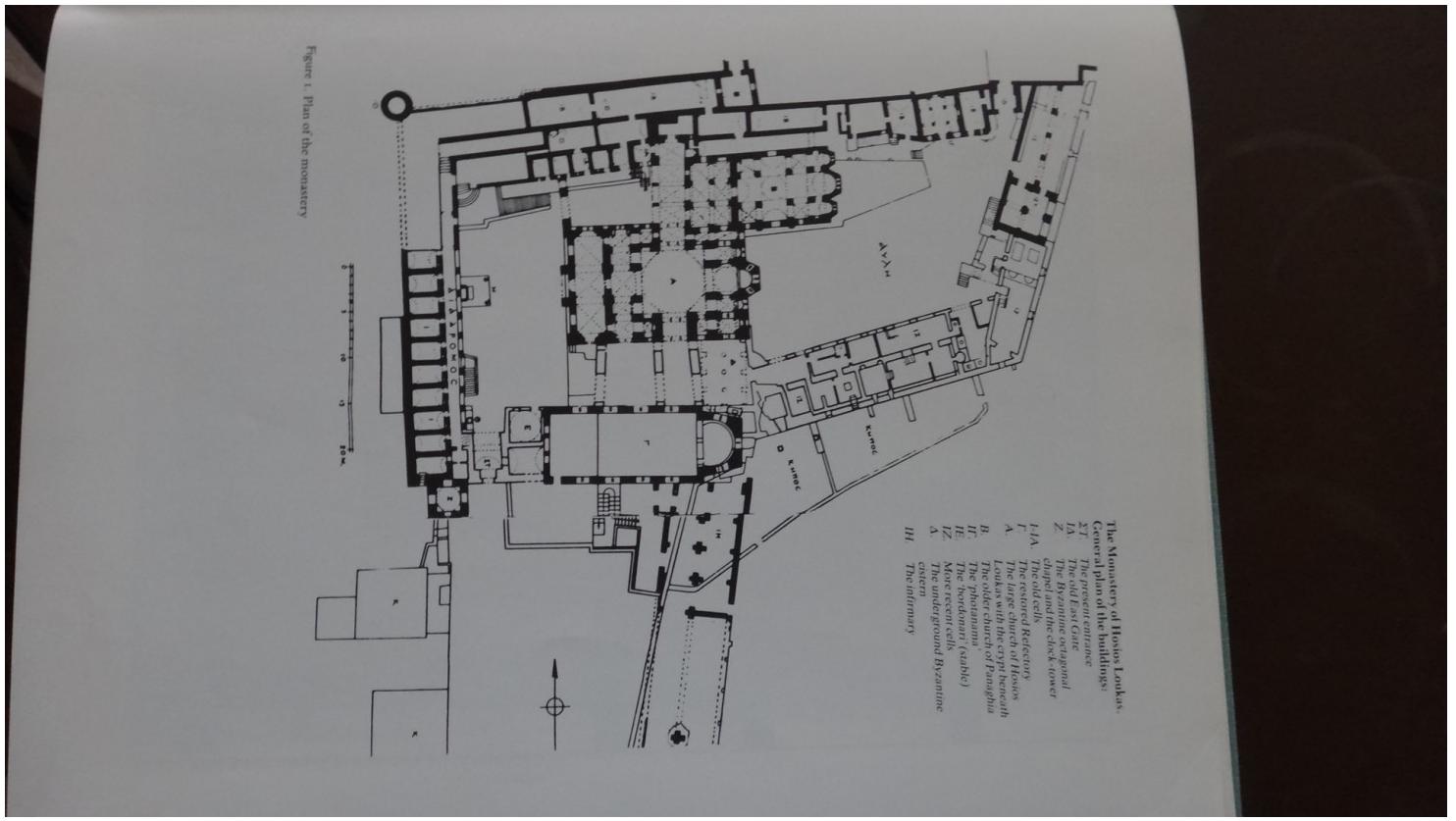


Figure 1. Plan of the monastery

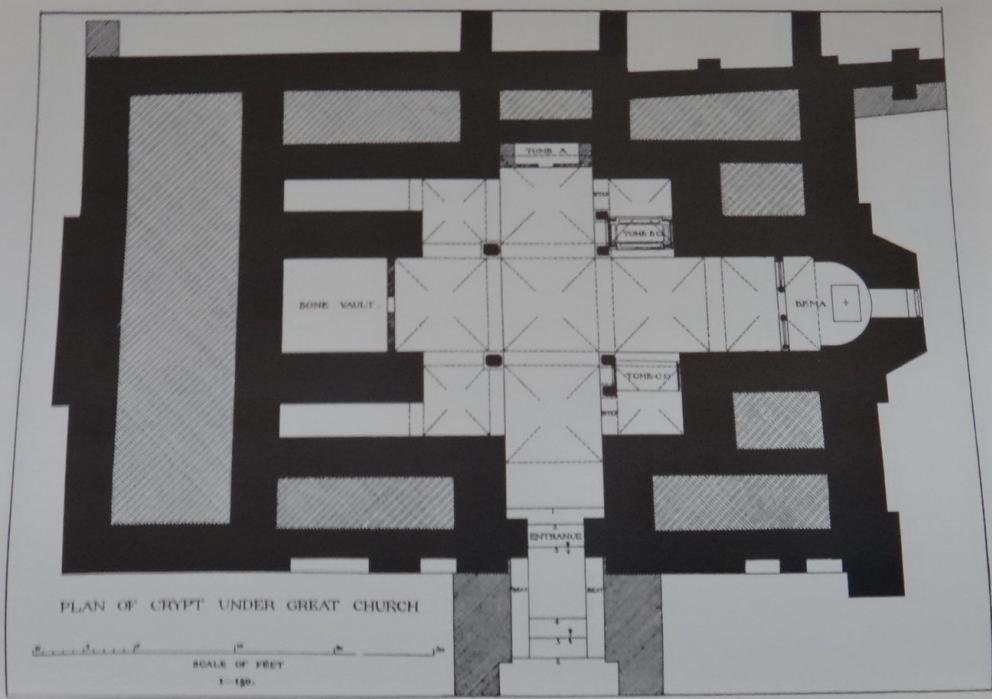


Figure 2. Plan of the crypt



Figure 3. Interior view of the crypt, looking north, with the tomb of Holy Luke

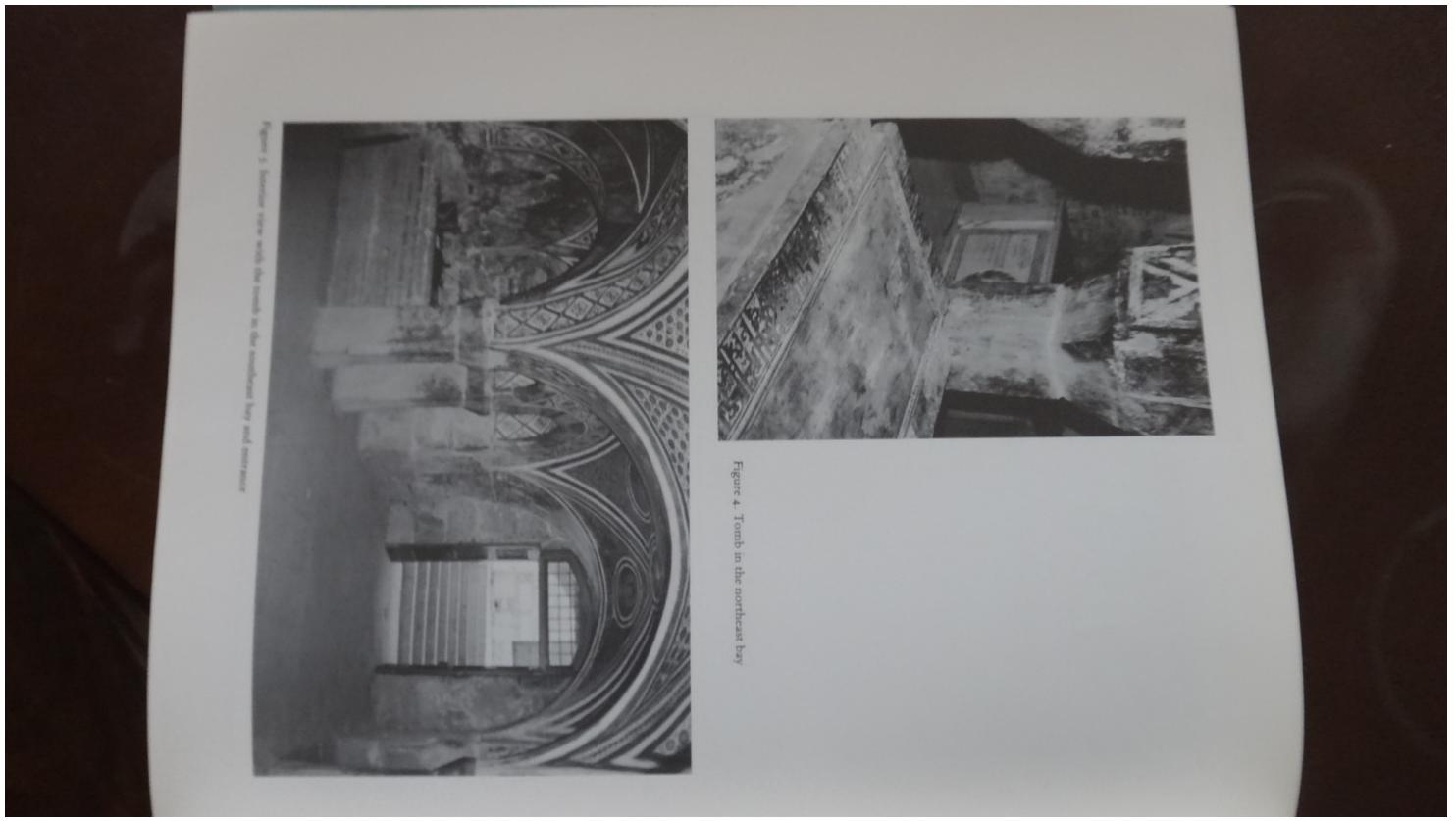


Figure 3. Burmese vase with the tomb in the northeast bay and recesses

Figure 4. Tomb in the northeast bay

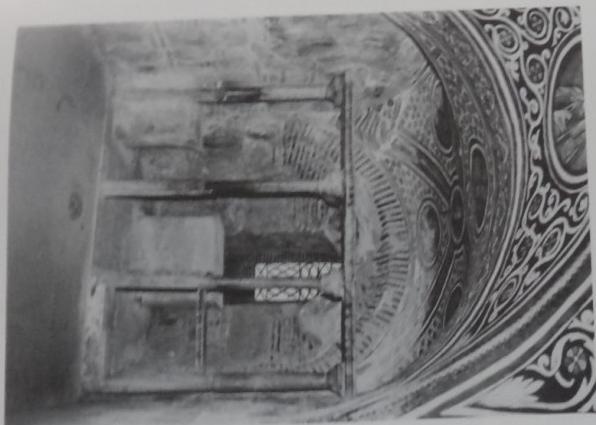


Figure 6. View east showing two tombs  
and sanctuary



Figure 7. Sanctuary of the crypt with  
templon barrier, altar, and shelf with  
prothesis niche

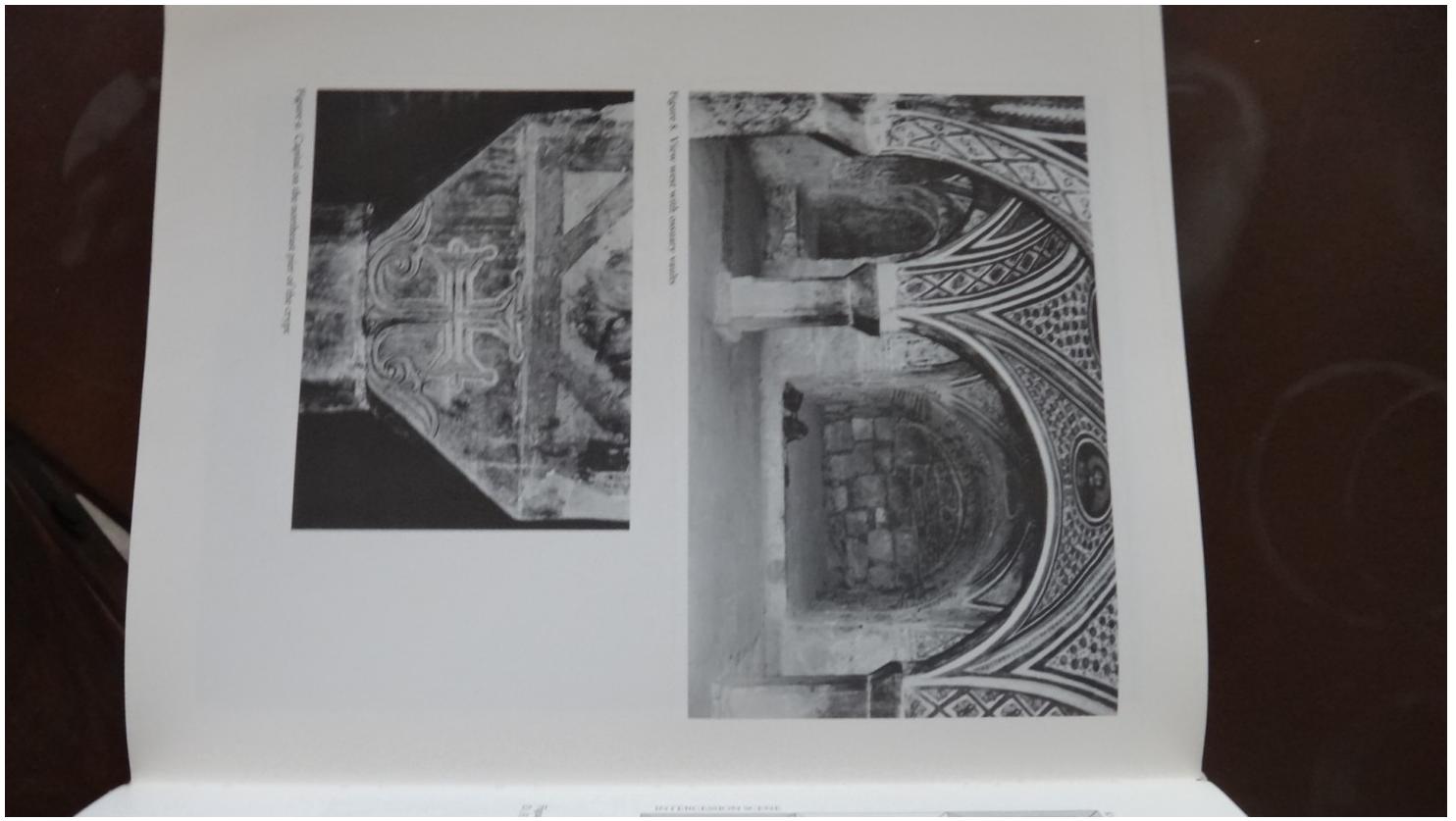


Figure 6. Capital on the northern pier of the crypt

Figure 8. View west with ornate walls

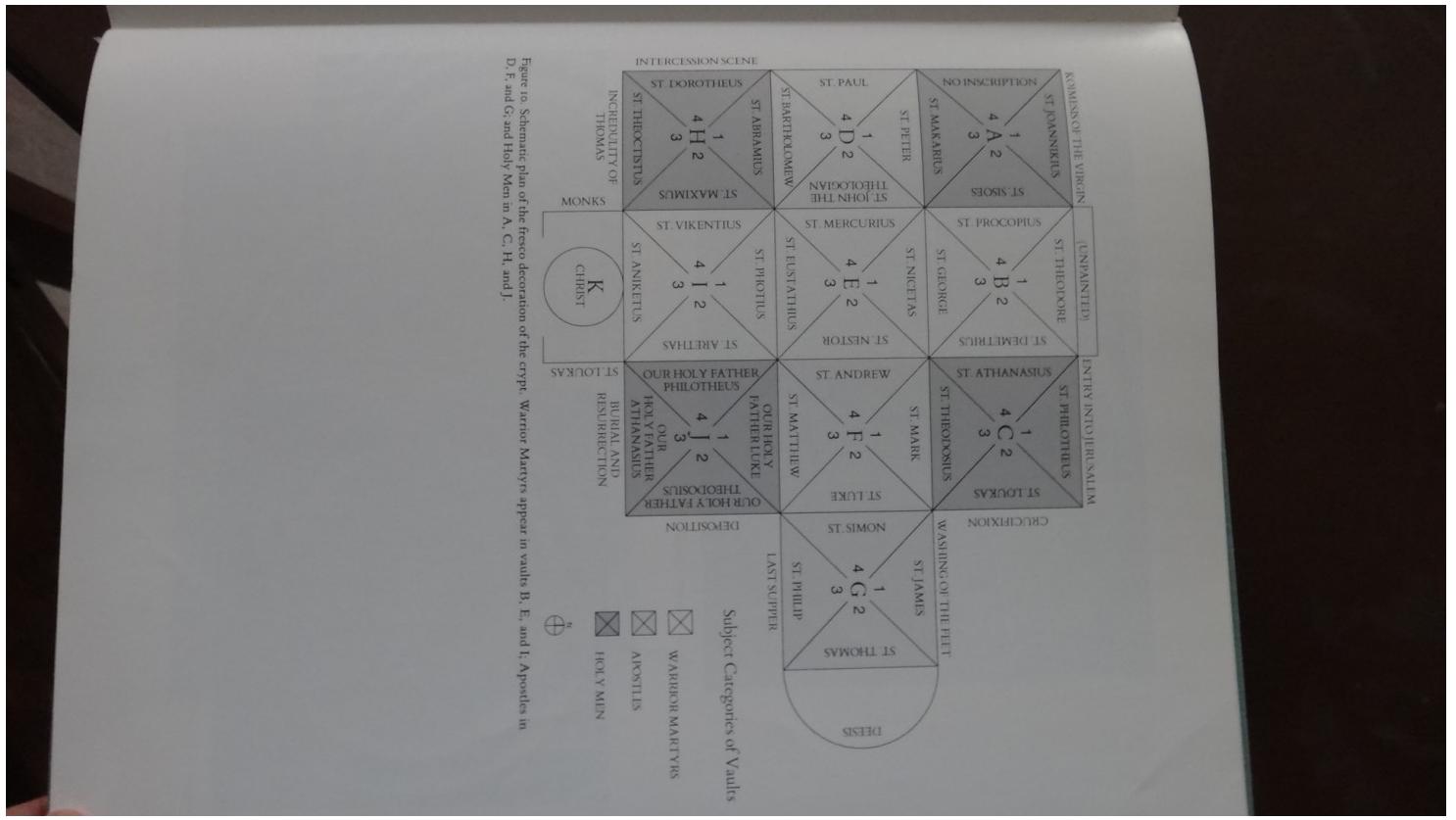


Figure 10. Schematic plan of the fresco decoration of the crypt. Warrior Martyrs appear in vaults B, E, and I; Apostles in D, F, and G; and Holy Men in A, C, H, and J.



Figure 11. St. Theodore (B.1)

Figure 12. St. Demetrios (B.2)

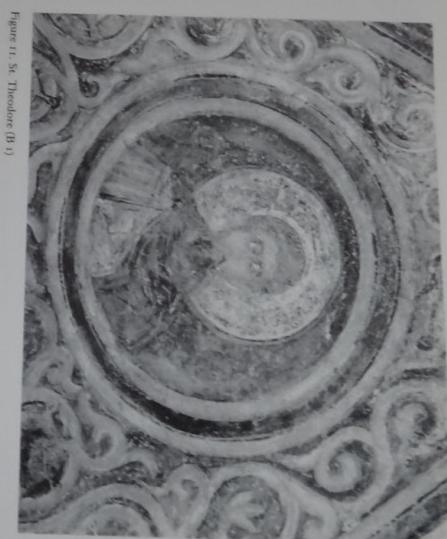


Figure 11. St. Demetrios in infrared photograph

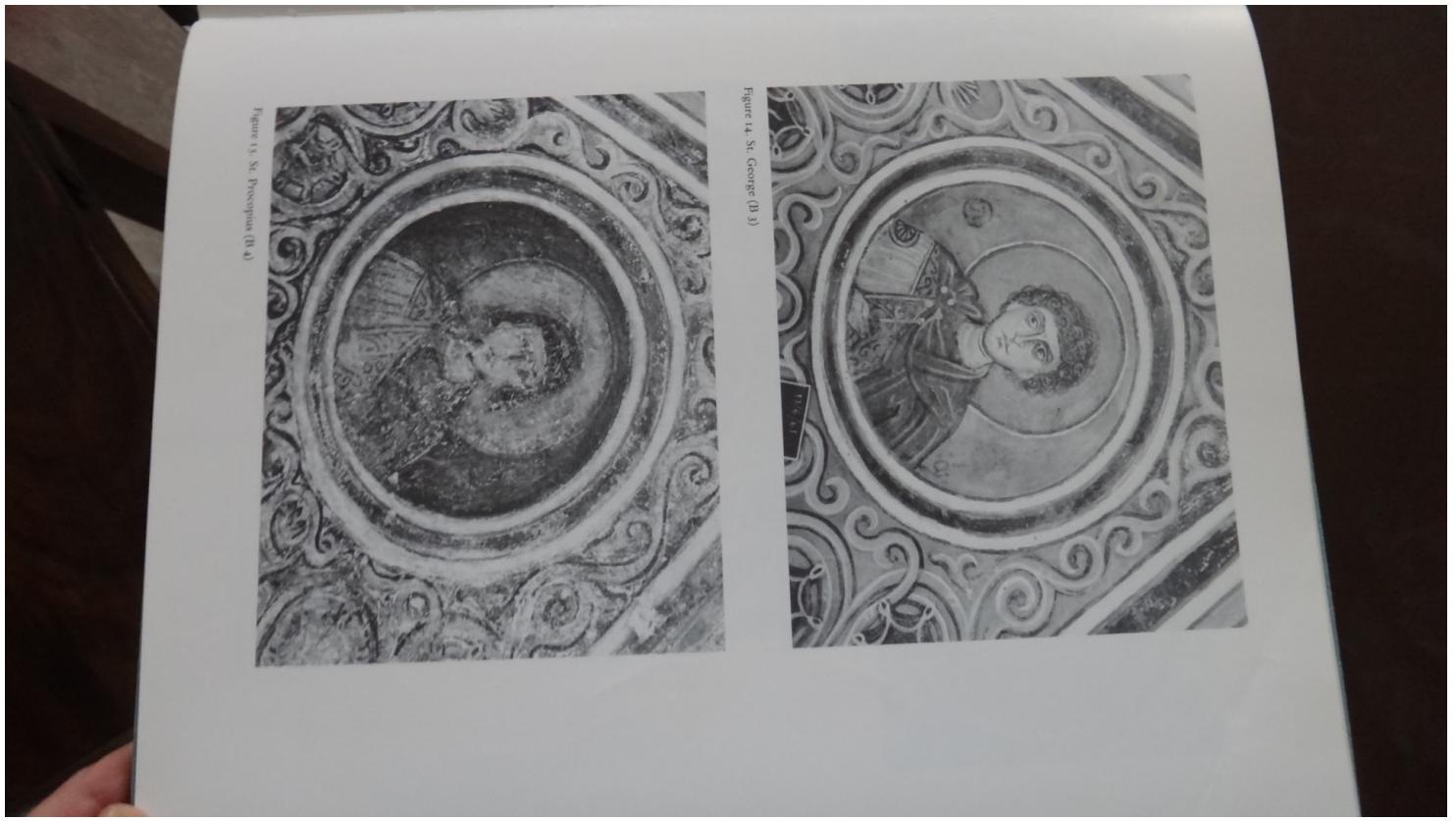


Figure 13. St. Procopius (B.4)

Figure 14. St. George (B.3)

Figure 16. St. Nereos (E. 1)



Figure 17. St. Nereos (E. 2)



Figure 20: St. Mercurius (E. 4)

Figure 18: St. Eustathius (E. 3)

Figure 19: St. Eustathius in infrared photograph



Figure 22. St. Andrew's (§ 2)



Figure 23. St. Photios (§ 1)

Figure 24: St. Vlachenos (§ 4)



Figure 25: St. Andronikos (§ 1)





Figure 26. St. John the Theologian (D. 2)



Figure 25. St. Peter (D. 1)

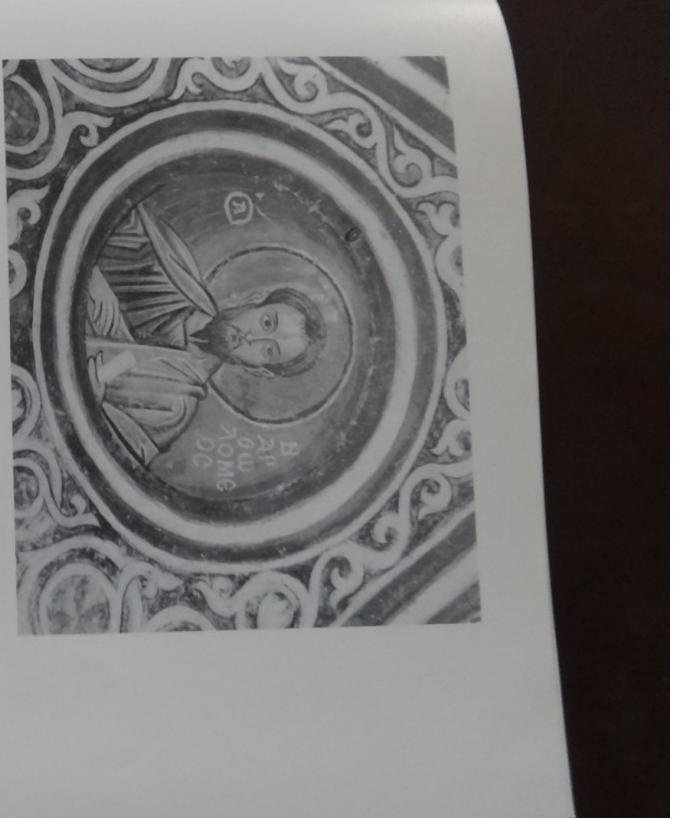


Figure 27. St. Bartholomew (D 3)



Figure 28. St. Paul (D 4)



Figure 20. St. Luke (F. 2)



Figure 22. St. Mark (F. 1)

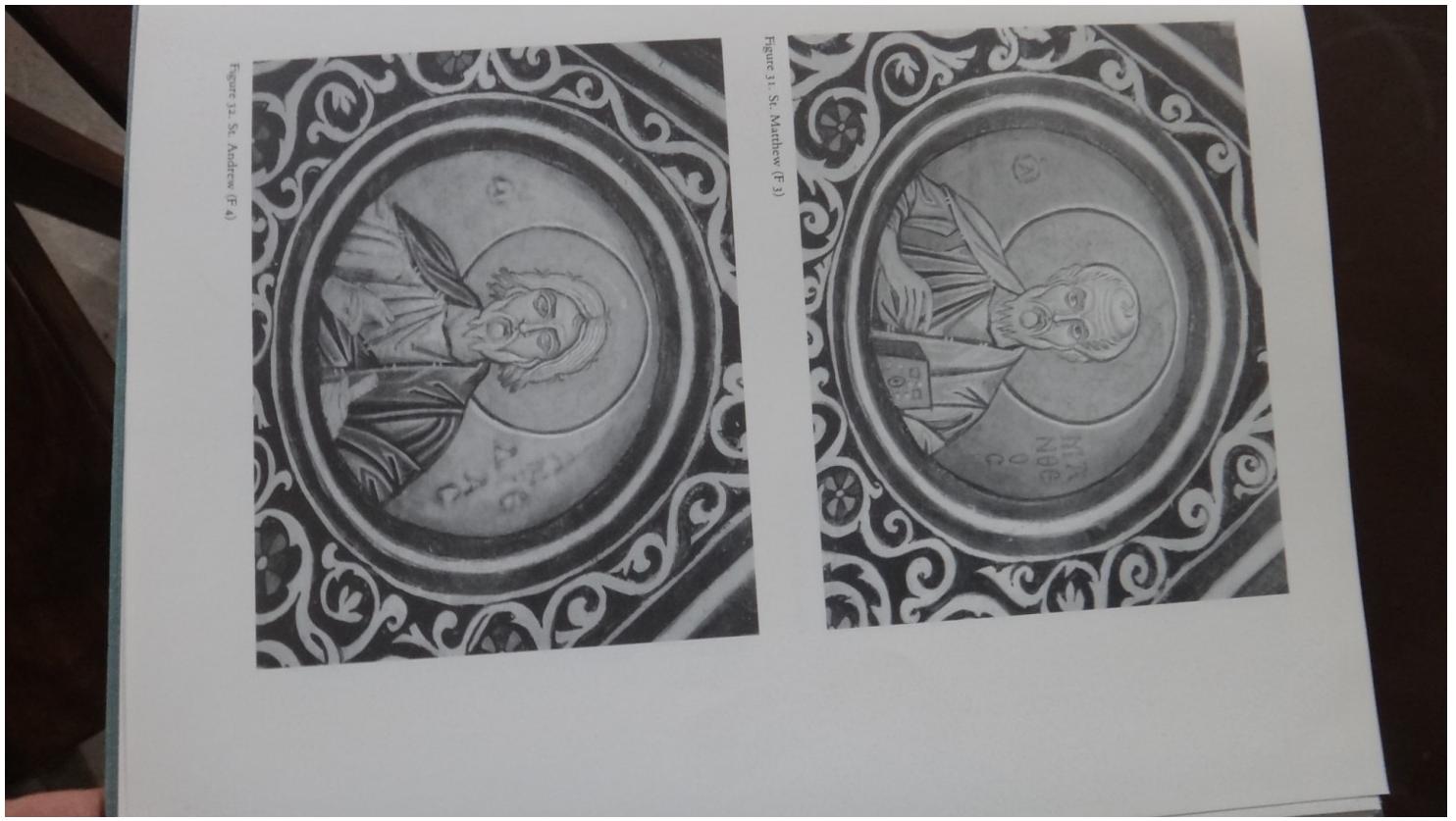


Figure 11: St. Matthew (F. 3)

Figure 12: St. Andrew (F. 4)

Figure 34. St. Thomas (G-2)



Figure 33. St. James (G-1)





Figure 15. St. Simon (CC-BY)



Figure 15. St. Philip (CC-BY)



Figure 36: St. Sava (A.2)



Figure 37: St. Joannikius (A.1)

Figure 40. Unidentified saint (A.4)



Figure 39. St. Makarius (A.3)





Figure 42. St. Maximus (H 2)



Figure 41. St. Abramus (H 1)



Figure 44. St. Demetrios (M.4)



Figure 44. St. Theocritus (M.3)



Figure 45: St. Philibert (c. 11)



Figure 45: St. Philibert (c. 11)



Figure 4.8: St. Athanasius (C.4)



Figure 4.7: St. Theodosius (C.3)



Figure 49. Our Lady; Brother Demetrius (J 1)

Figure 49. Our Holy Father Louis (J 1)



Figure 5. Our Holy Father Athanasios I



Figure 5. Our Holy Father Athanasios II

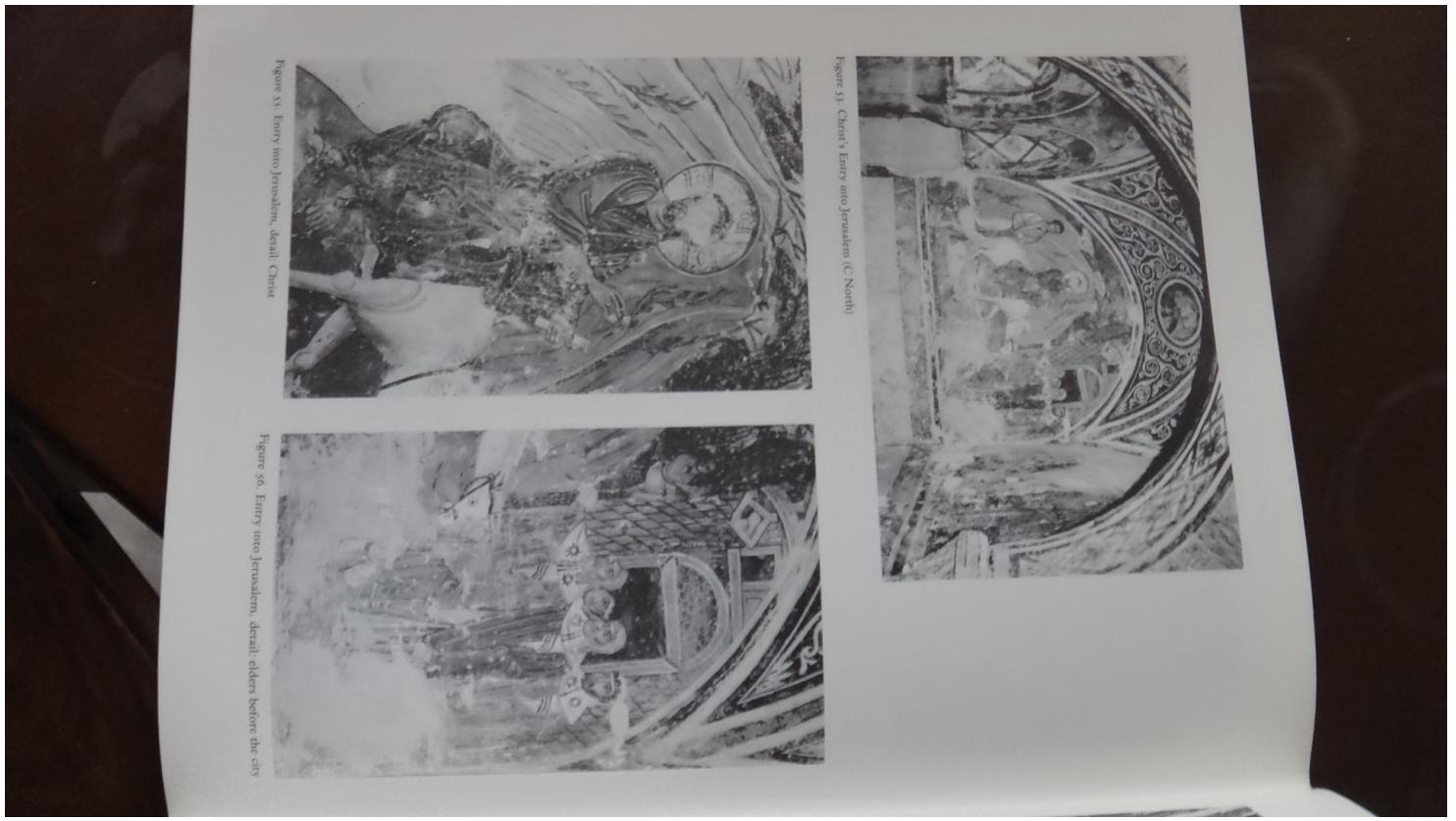


Figure 55. Entry into Jerusalem, detail: Christ

Figure 53. Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (C. North)

Figure 56. Entry into Jerusalem, detail: elders before the city

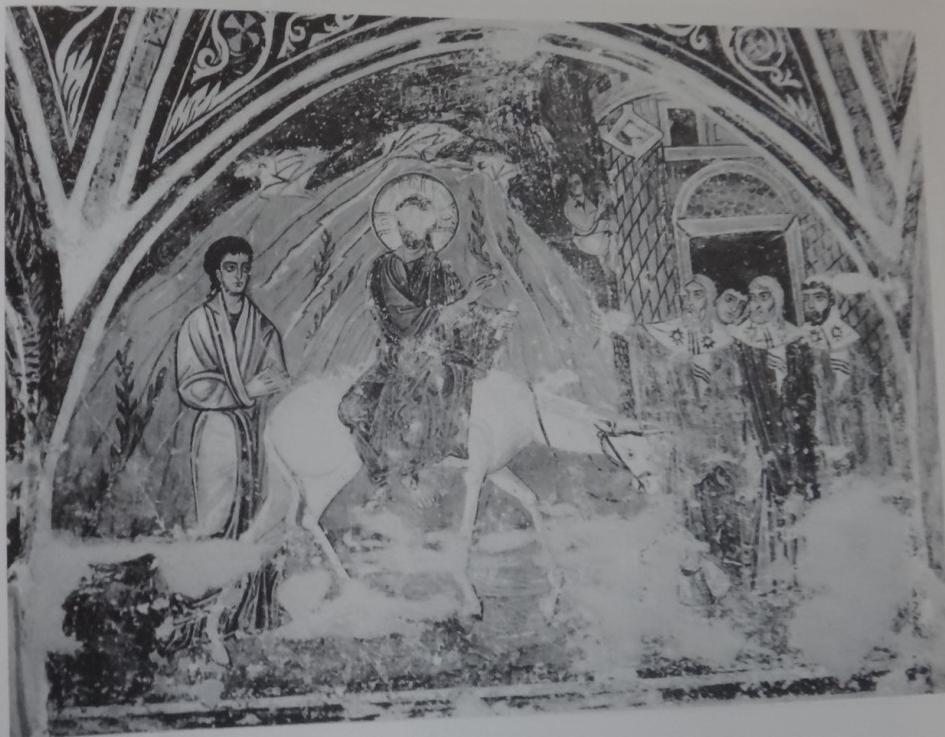


Figure 54. Entry into Jerusalem, detail



Figure 37. Entry into Jerusalem, detail: faces of the elders



Figure 39. The Crucifixion, detail: St. John



Figure 58. The Crucifixion (C East)



Figure 60. Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet (G North)

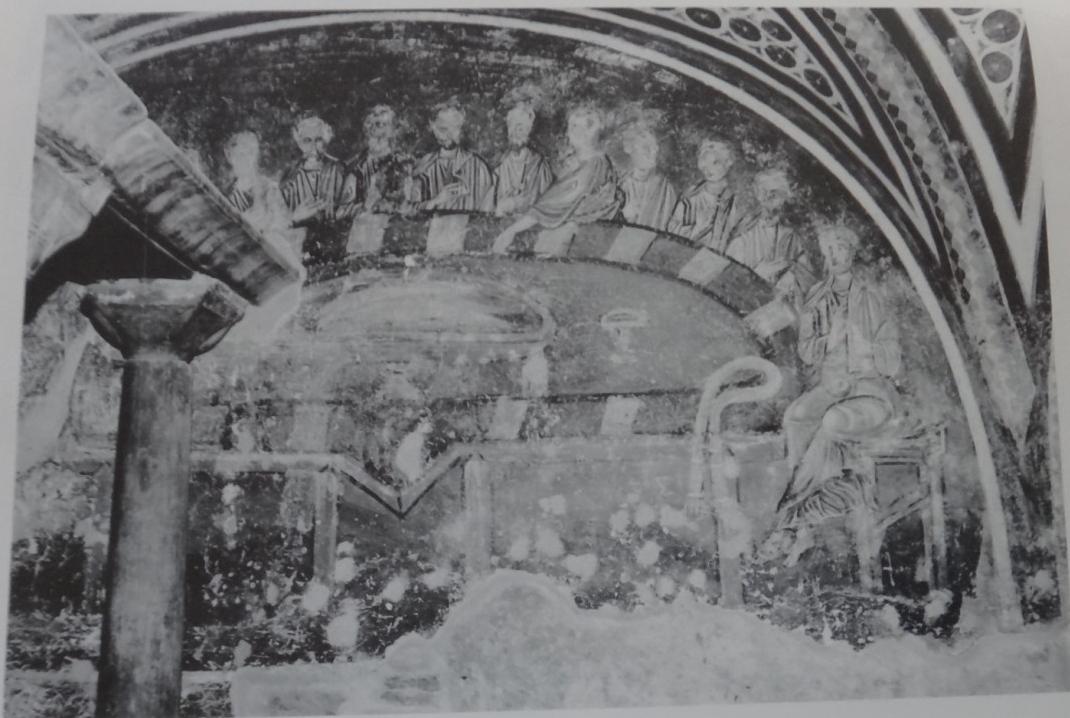


Figure 61. The Last Supper, right portion (G South)

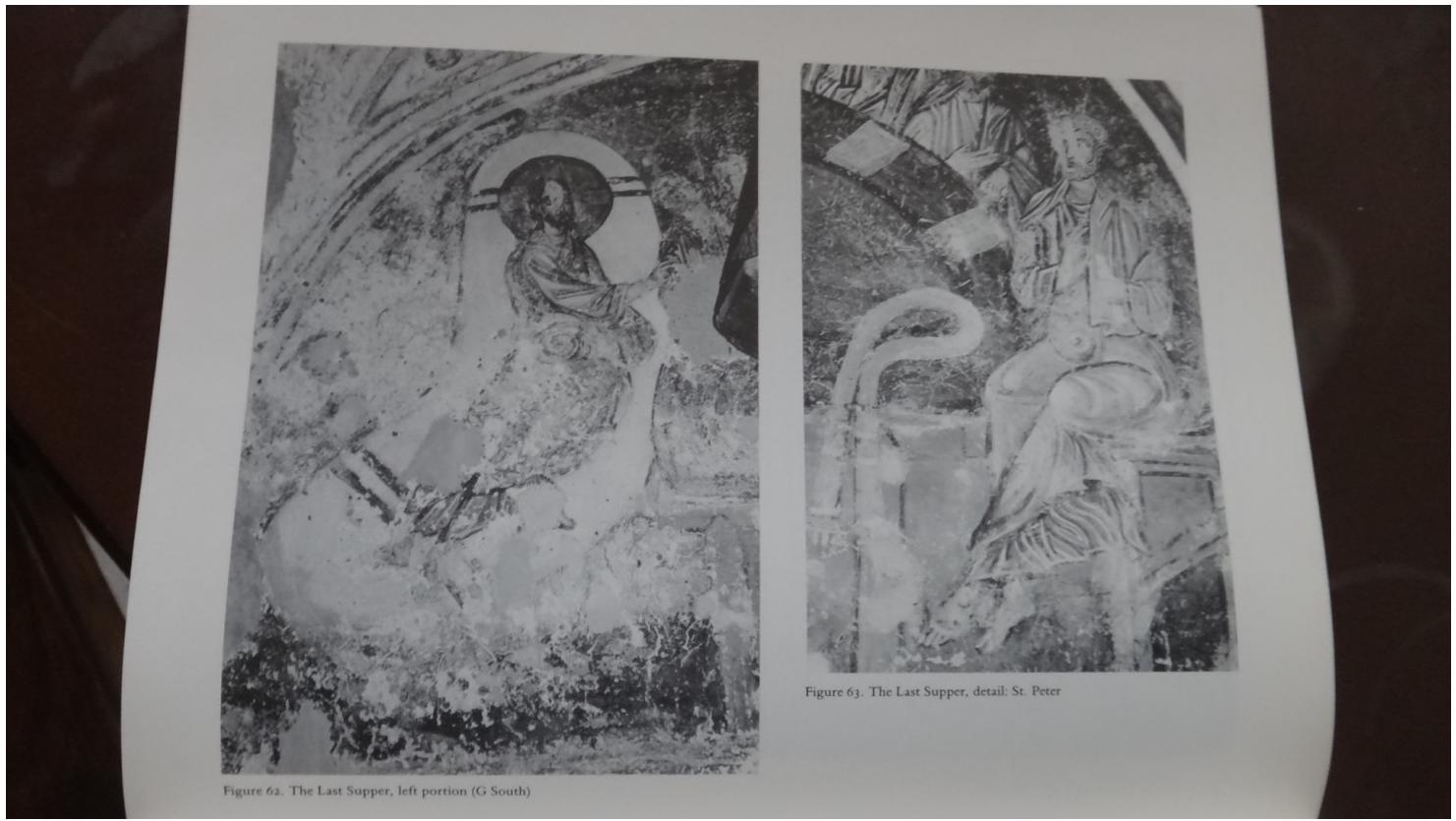


Figure 62. The Last Supper, left portion (G South)

Figure 63. The Last Supper, detail: St. Peter



Figure 64. Christ's Deposition from the Cross (J East)

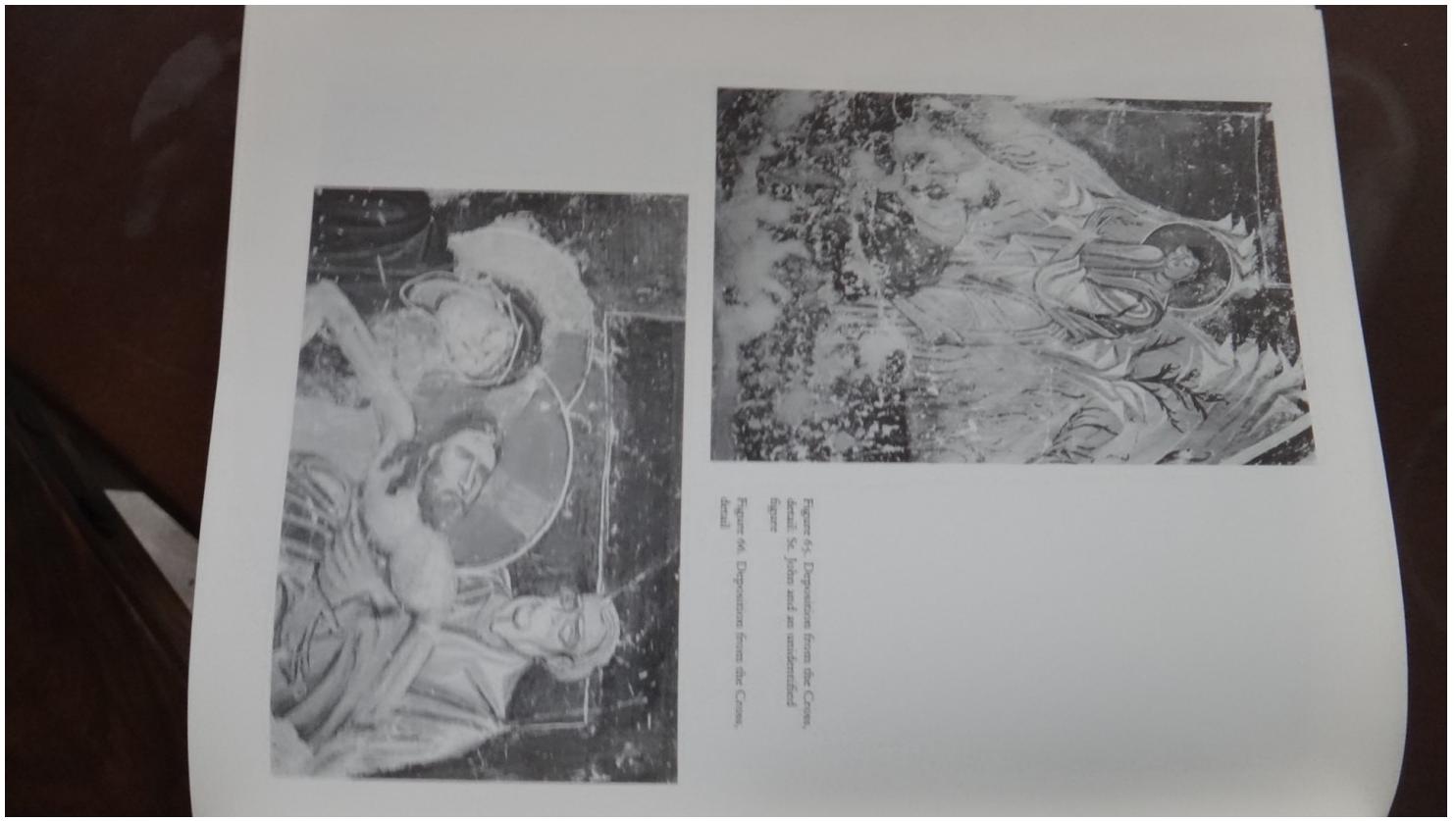


Figure 65. Deposition from the Cross,  
detail. St. John and an unidentified  
figure

Figure 66. Deposition from the Cross,  
detail

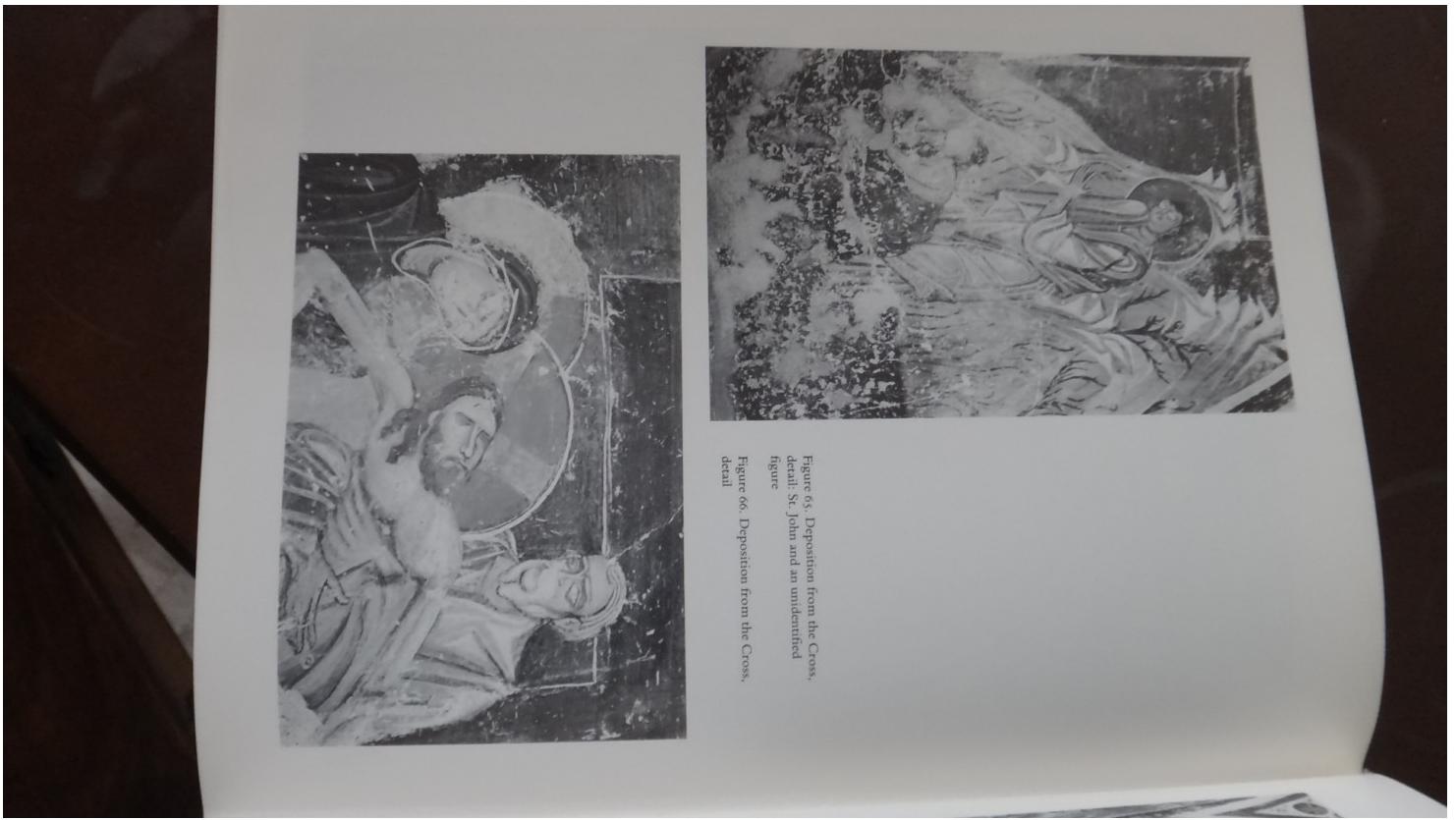


Figure 65. Deposition from the Cross,  
detail: St. John and an unidentified  
figure

Figure 66. Deposition from the Cross,  
detail



Figure 67. Burial of Christ; The Women at the Tomb (J South)



Figure 68. Burial of Christ



Figure 69. Burial of Christ, detail

Figure 71. The Women at the Tomb, detail: the tomb





Figure 72. The Incredulity of Thomas (H South)



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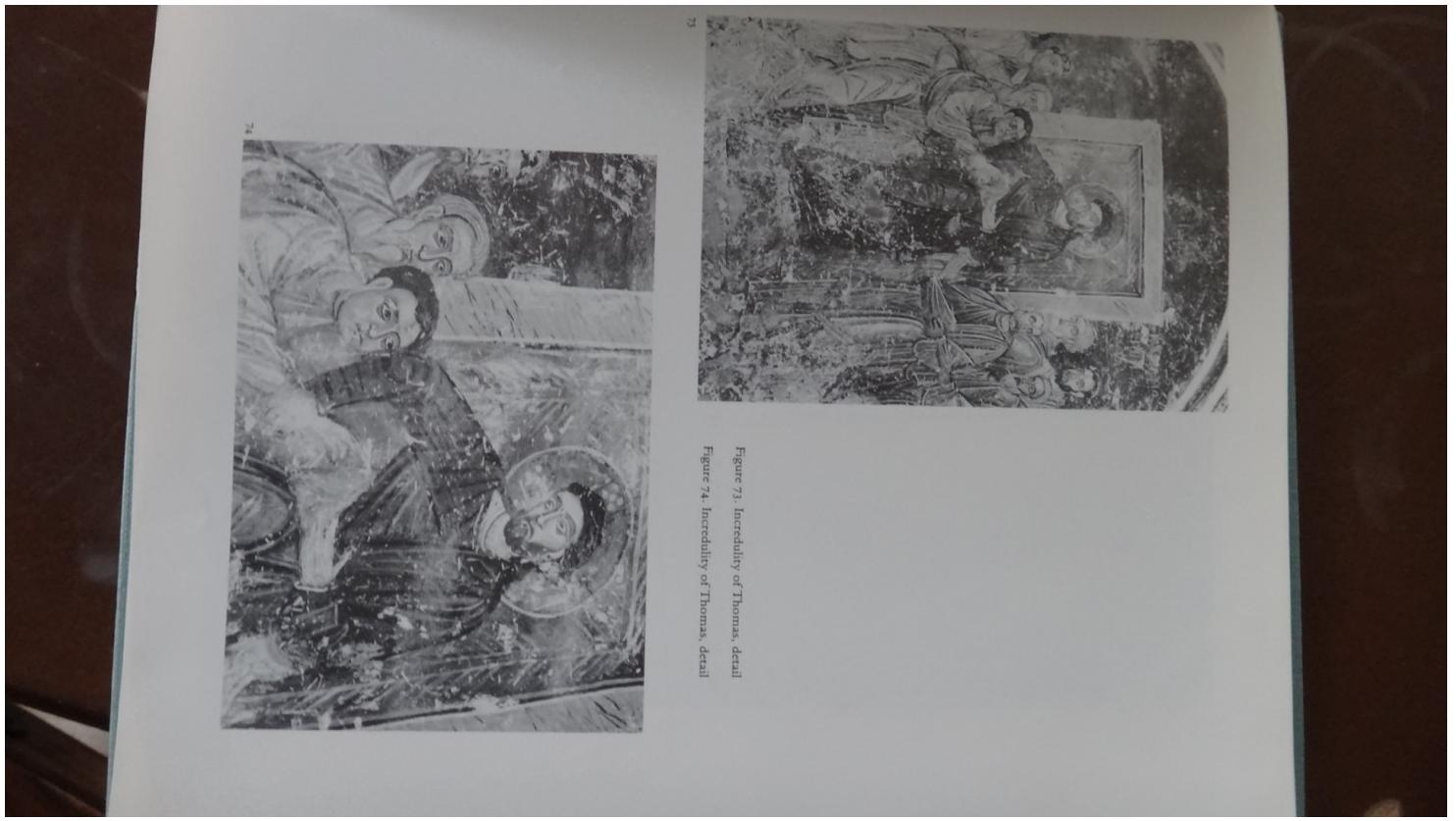


Figure 73. Incredulity of Thomas, detail

Figure 74. Incredulity of Thomas, detail



Figure 75. Incredulity of Thomas, detail: disciples

Figure 76. Incredulity of Thomas, detail: disciples



Figure 77. Koimesis of the Virgin

Figure 79. Group of Monks (K West)



Figure 78. Christ in a Medallion (entrance vault K)



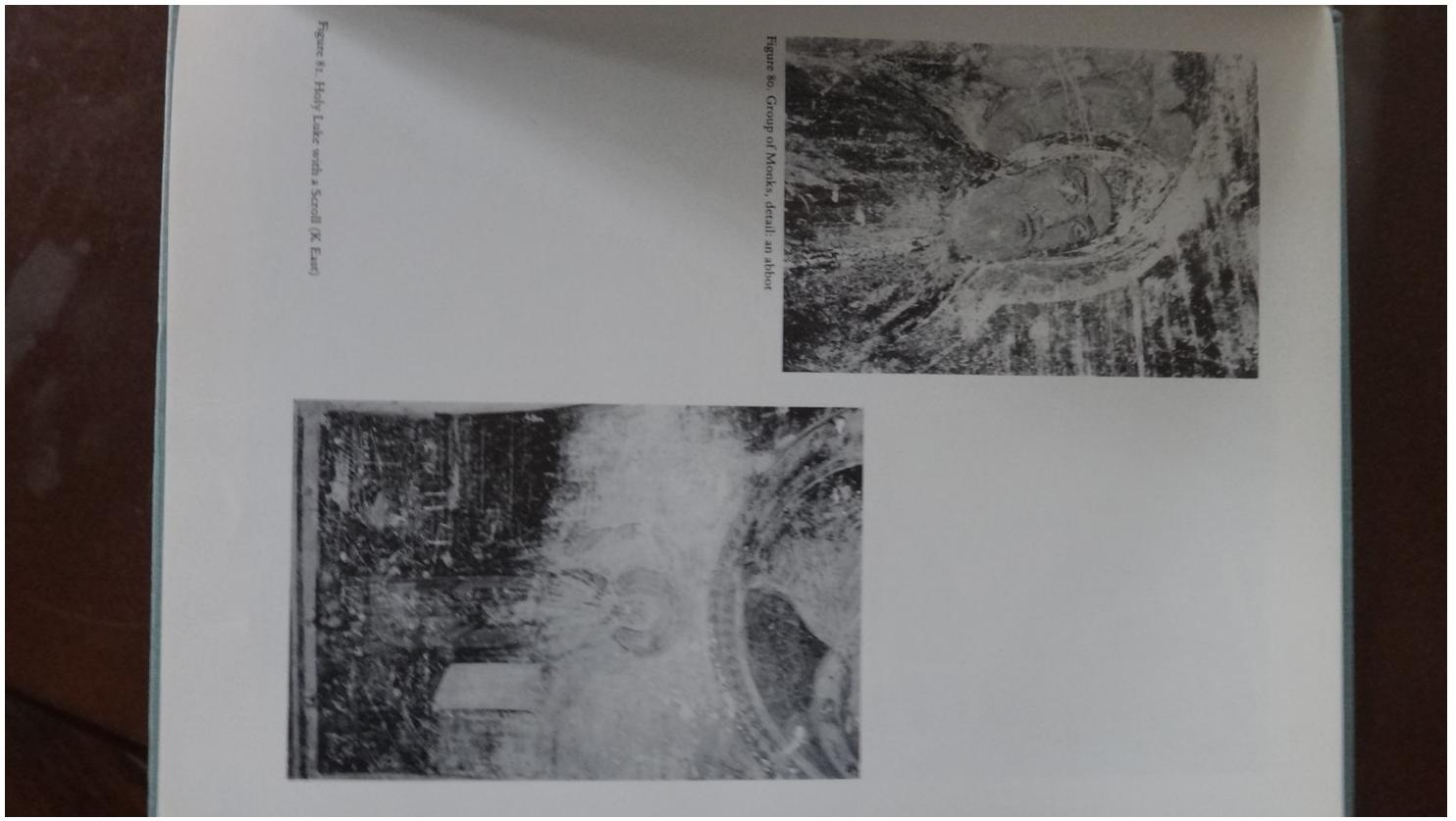


Figure 81. Holy Lake with a Scroll (K. East)

Figure 80. Group of Monks, detail; an abbot

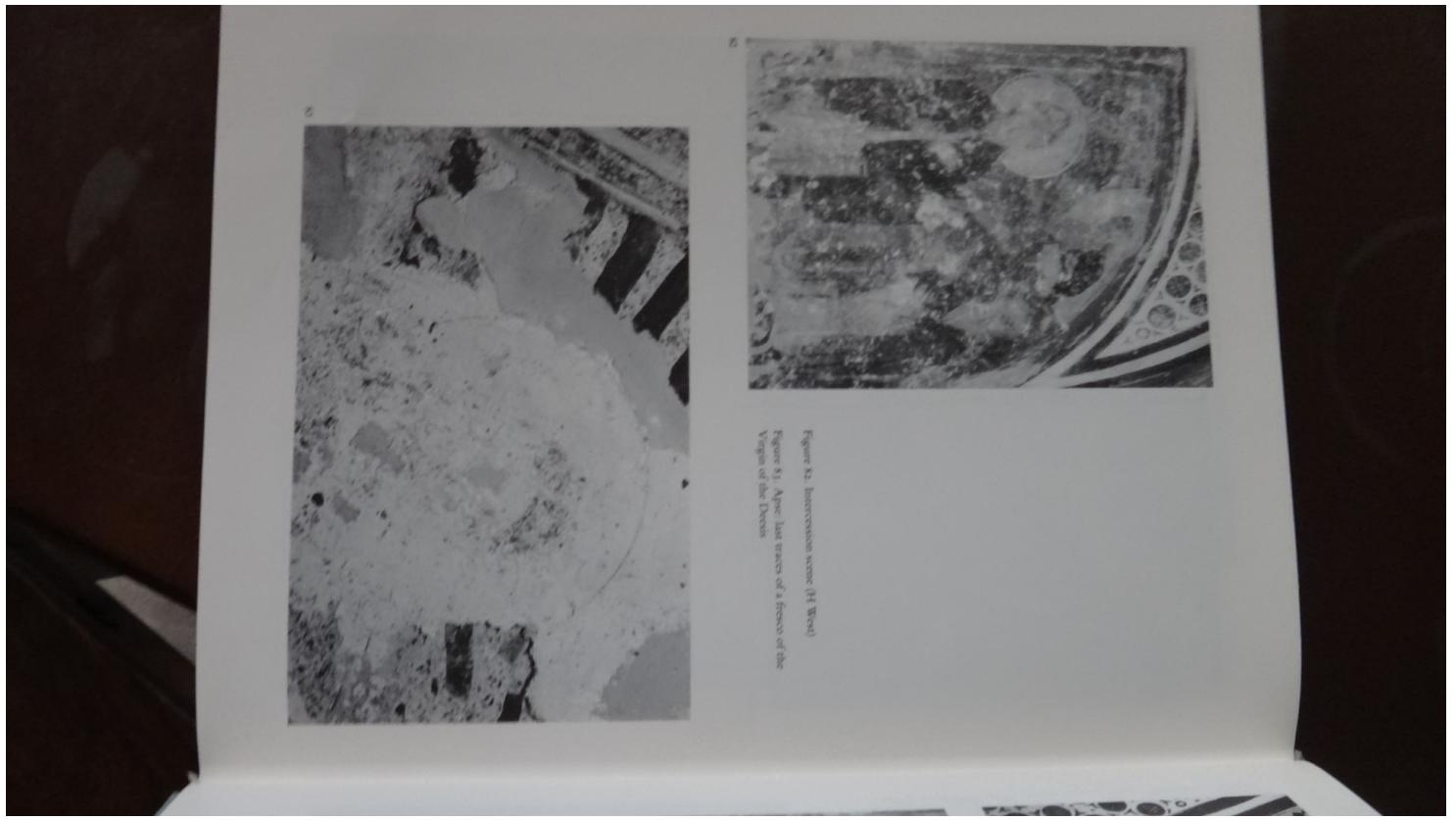


Figure S2: Incorrosion scene (H. West)

Figure S3: Apoc. last traces of a fresco of the  
Virgin of the Doves

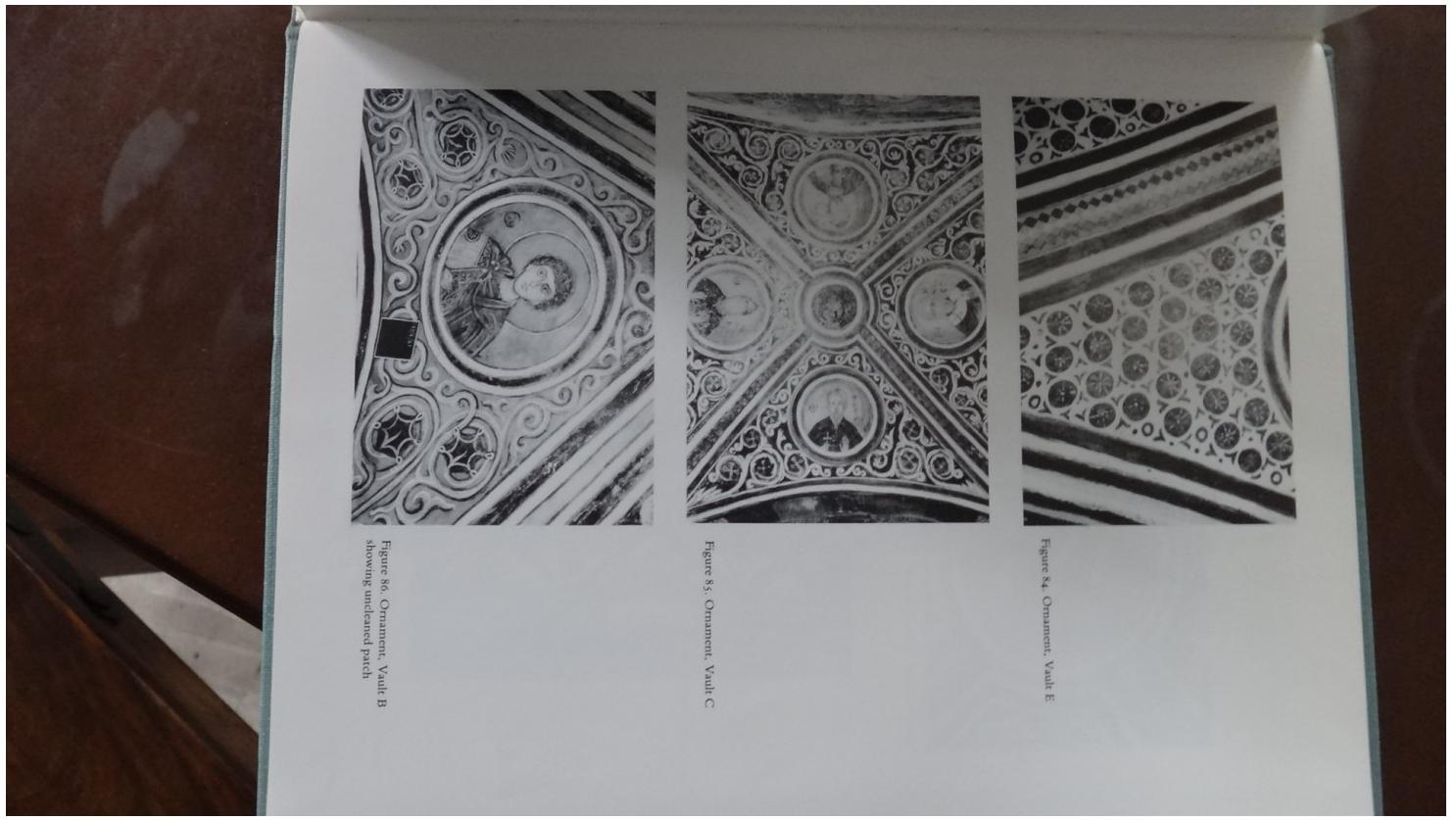


Figure 860. Ornament. Vault B  
showing undecorated patch

Figure 852. Ornament. Vault C

Figure 844. Ornament. Vault E



Figure 8a. Ornamentation on webs of arch

Figure 8c. Cross, apex of Vault E

Figure 8d. Ornamentation on webs of arch

Figure 8e. Hand of God, apex of Vault F

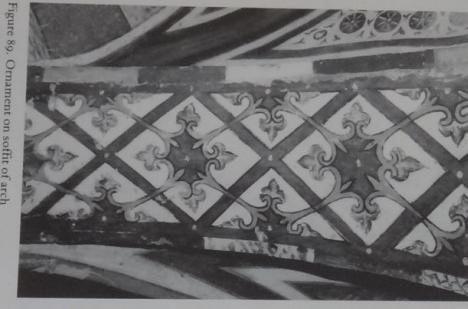


Figure 85. Ornament on soffit of arch



Figure 86. Ornament on soffit of arch



Figure 87. Cross, apex of Vault E



Figure 88. Hand of God, apex of Vault F